Bodies That Work, Discourses That Care

Powerful Narratives of Elder Care on the Move

Dissertation

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Summary

This thesis explores questions of work and power in 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland. 24-hour care refers to individual paid care of an elderly person at their private household. While on duty, care-givers live at the household in which they work. 24-hour care is therefore a form of live-in care. Employment or staffing agencies offer and organise 24-hour care arrangements in German-speaking Switzerland. These agencies market around-the-clock care services that promise a care-giver's presence at all hours of the day. They employ or place women from European Union member states as 24-hour care workers, in particular from Poland, Hungary and Slovakia. The workers spend set periods of time working and living in elderly persons' households. After two to twelve weeks of duty, there is a change of shift. The first care worker is off duty and another care worker looks after the elderly person. This system of rotation allows care workers to leave Switzerland to see family and friends when they are off duty. Thus many care workers commute in and out of Switzerland at regular intervals. Labour rights activists, care workers, regulators, journalists, and academics have identified considerable limitations of 24-hour care, in particular problematic conditions of work.

The thesis investigates central questions of work and power in Swiss live-in care through an analysis of the discourse on 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland between September 2013 and 2015. The primary data consists of around forty care agencies' descriptions of 24-hour care on their websites. Agency websites are the platforms on which all parties involved in 24-hour care meet–where they receive information and where live-in care arrangements are ultimately initiated. Therefore these websites have been the pivot of the emerging market in 24-hour care. Agency websites are also of analytical significance since they are the spaces where 24-hour care has been most directly outlined and described during the period of enquiry. The secondary set of data treated in this dissertation consists of the discursive contributions by the media, public bodies, scholarship, individual care workers and live-in care workers' associations.

Drawing on sustained feminist engagements with work and care, I approached Swiss 24-hour care from a feminist perspective with a particular focus on notions of work, gender, and bodies. This approach has facilitated critical analysis of the complex relations of power which are at the heart of 24-hour care. The thesis investigates the complexity of these power relations in five research papers. The papers analyse discussions of difference and questions of pay, care-givers'

becoming of an embodied subjects, workers' political and social participation, as well as the power and limitations of discursive construction in the media. The research papers explore these questions through analyses of central discursive narratives. The narratives include discussions of care workers' so-called heart-felt warmth, reference to care workers as 'female care migrants' and analysis of 24-hour care in relation to the notion of ethnicisation. The five research papers investigate and illustrate the power of the central narratives about 24-hour care.

My analysis of the central narratives indicates an intricate relationship between fundamental inequalities in live-in care and the particular ways in which they are discussed. In particular, I suggest that the specific ways in which 24-hour care has been discussed underlie the inequalities in the field and serve to sustain problematic working conditions. The discussion of 24-hour care-givers in terms of 'female care migrants' illustrates the power of narratives. 'Female care migrant' designates the live-in care-worker as first and foremost a circular migrant and dislocates them from Switzerland. By critically investigating central narratives, the thesis illustrates the fundamental significance of discursive narratives for how we understand and value both the work of 24-hour care and those who perform live-in care. In showing how the discursive dislocation of care workers from Switzerland underlies workers' poor pay and problematic working conditions, the thesis' findings point to the political consequences of discursive narratives' power to value and devalue. In drawing attention to the significance of words in the perpetuation of inequalities, the thesis makes a feminist contribution to interdisciplinary scholarship on 24-hour care whose political and theoretical consequence is relevant in and beyond Switzerland.

Key words: Live-in care, Switzerland, feminist economic geography

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Dissertation behandelt Fragen der Arbeit und der Macht in der deutschschweizerischen 24-Stunden-Betreuung. In der 24-Stunden-Betreuung werden ältere Personen individuell in ihren Privathaushalten betreut. Die Betreuenden wohnen während ihres Arbeitseinsatzes am Arbeitsort. Die 24-Stunden-Betreuung ist somit eine Form von „live-in" Betreuung. In der Deutschschweiz werden private live-in Betreuungsdienste von Vermittlungs- und Verleihagenturen angeboten und organisiert. Die Agenturen bewerben ihre Dienstleistungen als „24-Stunden-Betreuung", welche eine rund-um-die-Uhr Betreuung durch eine ständig anwesende Betreuungskraft versprechen. Sie vermitteln oder stellen primär Frauen aus den EU-Mitgliedsstaaten Polen, Ungarn und der Slowakei als 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen an. 24-Stunden-Betreuende arbeiten für gewisse Zeiträume in Schweizer Privathaushalten–in der Regel zwischen zwei bis zwölf Wochen am Stück. Am Ende des Arbeitseinsatzes wird gewechselt. Die erste Betreuungskraft hat einen gewissen Zeitraum lang frei und eine zweite Betreuungskraft übernimmt die Betreuung. Dieses Rotationssystem erlaubt es den 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen, zwischen ihren Arbeitseinsätzen zu Familie und Freunden ausserhalb der Schweiz zu reisen. Somit „pendeln" viele 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen regelmässig über nationalstaatliche Grenzen hinweg. Arbeitsrechtler_innen, Care-Arbeiterinnen, Regulierungsbehörden, Journalist_innen und Akademiker_innen haben die in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung vorkommenden beträchtlichen Ungleichheiten mit besonderem Fokus auf die vorherrschenden problematischen Arbeitsbedingungen thematisiert.

Die vorliegende Dissertation behandelt Fragen der Arbeit und der Macht in einer Analyse des Diskurses rund um die 24-Stunden-Betreuung in der Deutschschweiz zwischen September 2013 und 2015. Der primäre Datenkorpus stellt sich aus den Beschreibungen der 24-Stunden-Betreuung auf den Websites von rund vierzig Verleih- und Vermittlungsagenturen zusammen. Diese Websites sind der Dreh- und Angelpunkt der 24-Stunden-Betreuung, da sie eine Plattform bieten, wo sich Interessierte und Beteiligte nicht nur informieren, sondern über die live-in Arrangements letztendlich zustande kommen. Die Websites der Agenturen sind von analytischer Bedeutung, da die 24-Stunden-Betreuung während des Untersuchungszeitraumes auf den Websites am direktesten besprochen und beschrieben wurde. Ein sekundärer Datenkorpus ergänzt diese Daten; er setzt sich aus den Beiträgen von Medien, staatlichen Regulierungsinstanzen, der Wissenschaft, einzelnen Care-Arbeiterinnen und ihrer „gewerkschaftlichen" Vertretung zusammen.

Meine Herangehensweise an die deutschschweizerische 24-Stunden-Betreuung lehnt sich an feministische Auseinandersetzungen mit Arbeit und Care (Sorge). Der damit verbundene Fokus auf die Konzepte Arbeit, Gender und Körper ermöglichte eine kritische Analyse der komplexen Machtbeziehungen in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung. Die vorliegende Dissertation erforscht die Komplexität dieser Machtbeziehungen in fünf Forschungspapieren, welche die Diskussion von Unterschieden, die Entlohnung der Betreuungs-Arbeit, die Subjektivierung der Betreuerinnen, die politische und gesellschaftliche Partizipationsmöglichkeiten der Betreuenden, sowie die mediale Konstruktion der 24-Stunden Betreuung ergründen. Die Forschungspapiere behandeln diese Fragen in Analysen der zentralen Narrative des Diskurses über die 24-Stunden-Betreuung. Diese heben die „Herzlichkeit" der Care-Arbeiterinnen hervor, bezeichnen jene als „Care-Migrantinnen" und diskutieren die 24-Stunden-Betreuung in Bezug auf so-genannte Prozesse der „Ethnisierung". Die Forschungspapiere erläutern die Macht dieser Narrative.

Im Besonderen zeigen die in den Artikeln vorgenommenen Analysen die komplexe Beziehung zwischen den beträchtlichen Ungleichheiten in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung und ihrer Diskussion auf. Meine Resultate legen nahe, dass die spezifische Art und Weise, in der die 24-Stunden-Betreuung bis dato im deutschschweizerischen Diskurs diskutiert wurde, den beobachteten Ungleichheiten und den problematischen Arbeitsbedingungen im Feld zu Grunde liegt. Die Bezeichnung der Betreuerinnen als ‚Care-Migrantinnen' macht die Macht der Narrative deutlich. Die Bezeichnung ‚Care-Migrantin' stellt mobile 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen primär als zirkuläre Migrantinnen dar und distanziert jene dadurch von der Schweiz. Die kritische Ergründung der zentralen Narrative zeigt die grundlegende Bedeutung diskursiver Narrative für unser Verständnis und die Bewertungen von sowohl der 24-Stunden-Betreuung, als auch jener Personen, die diese Sorge-Arbeit verrichten auf. So untermauert die diskursive Distanzierung der Betreuerinnen von der Schweiz ihre prekäre Entlohnung und Arbeitsbedingungen. Die hier präsentierten Resultate machen auf die Bedeutung von Wörtern für die Aufrechterhaltung von Ungleichheiten und die politischen Konsequenzen der genannten Narrative aufmerksam. Die vorliegende Dissertation leistet somit einen kritischen feministischen Beitrag zur interdisziplinären Erforschung von 24-Stunden-Betreuungs-Verhältnissen, wessen politische und theoretische Bedeutung auch ausserhalb der Schweiz von besonderer Relevanz ist.

Table of Contents

[1] Translated title, 'Caring, Working, Moving Bodies: Subjectivation and Bodies in Swiss 24-Hour Care'
[2] Translated book title, 'Swiss body (bodies), bodies in Switzerland'
[3] Translated title, 'On the construction of 24-hour care for the elderly in the Swiss media'

Abbreviations

ArG	[Swiss] Labour act (*Arbeitsgesetz*)
AVG	[Swiss] Act on the arrangement of employment (*Privates Arbeitsvermittlungsgesetz*)
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EU	European Union
EU-8	Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania
FMP	[Agreement on the] Free Movement of Persons (*Personenfreizügigkeit*)
GAV	Collective employment contract in Switzerland (*Gesamtarbeitsvertrag*)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OKP	Swiss mandatory medical care insurance (*obligatorische Krankenpflegeversicherung*)
OR	[Swiss] Right of obligations (*Obligationenrecht*)
SECO	[Swiss] State Secretariate for Economic Affairs (*Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft*)
Spitex	Providers of outpatient care in Switzerland (*Spital-externe Dienste*)
SRF	Swiss Radio and Television (*Schweizer Radio und Fernsehen*)
VPOD	[Swiss] Civil servant labour union (*Die Gewerkschaft im service public*)

Glossary of German care terminology

Betreuung	Non-medical care: assistance, help, solicitude
Pflege	Medical care
Mobile/ambulante/spitalexterne Betreuung	Outpatient or home care
Arbeitsvermittlung	Arrangement of employment
Personalverleih	Temporary staffing, work placement

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À Barbara.

Part One: Framing the Research

1. Introduction and definition of the research agenda

1.1. Field and problematic

On 27 October 2014, a handful of women in quilted jackets assemble at the entrance of Basel Stadt civil court. It is just before Agata Jaworska's case will be heard. Anticipation is in the air because in the following hours, the judges will consider evidence on a case that labour rights activist consider of wider political significance. Ms Jaworska's case addresses fundamental questions in 24-hour care services: what exactly is the work of 24-hour elder care? How long does a 24-hour carer work, when and what is their free time? Who is responsible for checking that working hours are regular? Assuming that 24-hour carers work 6-8 hours a day, is their presence at the elderly person's house for the rest of the day to be considered on-call duty? If so, (how) is on-call duty in 24-hour care to be remunerated?

As the sun starts to set on this cold October day in Switzerland, the audience who have come to support Ms Jaworska begin to tire. However, as the judges leave the courtroom, there is a sense of new beginnings: the judges seemed to have taken seriously Ms Jaworska's testimony.

Five months later, the civil court announces its verdict. It demands that all of Ms Jaworska's on-call hours be recompensed. The compensation is a total of around 17,000 Swiss Francs (€15,800), payable by the care agency that employed Ms Jaworska while she worked as a 24-hour carer in Basel, as well as the pay rolling company that at certain times handled the payment of her salary. The local organisation of 24-hour care workers, *Respekt@VPOD*, celebrates this verdict as a success for all live-in care workers. Božena Dománska, one of the founding members of the care workers' labour union, writes in a press release, 'This is a ground-breaking success for Agata as well as for all other female care migrants. Like this, the value of our work is finally recognised'[4] (Respekt@VPOD, 2015).

In this statement, Ms Dománska addresses key issues of 24-hour care. 24-hour care is an individual elder care arrangement in which a care-giver assists an elderly person at their private home. It is called 24-hour care since the care-givers stay at the private household in which they work during their period of duty. In Switzerland, predominantly private sector agencies have organised 24-hour care arrangements. They either place or arrange for mobile women to provide live-in care to elderly persons. Families or individuals often pay several thousand Swiss Francs a

[4] Original quote, 'Das ist ein bahnbrechender Erfolg für Agata und für alle anderen Care-Migrantinnen. Damit wird endlich der Wert unserer Arbeit anerkannt.'

month to these agencies. While the workload of 24-hour care is considerable, both social valuation and monetary remuneration for live-in care is comparably low. In this context, in particular the duration and conditions of work in 24-hour care have raised public concern (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, pp. 13-18).

In the almost two years since the Basel Stadt civil court announced its verdict, these issues have increasingly been addressed in political debate. The Swiss Federal Council (ibid, pp. 21-26) has investigated live-in care and made suggestions on how to improve the legal-regulative context of 24-hour care, and cantonal governments have debated the adaptation of the standard employment contract (*Normalarbeitsvertrag*) for live-in care (for example, Canton Schwyz: Regierungsrat Kanton Schwyz, 2016). While many care workers and labour rights activists await the implementation of regulations which would render the above questions insignificant, it is of the utmost importance to critically investigate the ways in which live-in care work, its meanings, dimensions and value, are negotiated. This thesis seeks to do so.

1.2. Undertaking, research questions, purpose

In this context of the just outlined political struggle about 24-hour care in Switzerland, this thesis explores questions of work. As the above example illustrates, questions about the work of live-in care are also questions of power. In live-in care, relations of asymmetrical power often take the shape of small details–gestures, habits, meal preparation and times, notions of personal space, etc. (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 188, 196). In a live-in arrangement, relations of power are inherently intricate because the work of elder care is an inter-active, inter-personal relationship which takes place behind closed doors, in a private household. The underlying inequities in live-in care nevertheless become visible and tangible in two instances: in the very set-up of an around-the-clock care arrangement and in the ways in which 24-hour care work has been discussed in German-speaking Switzerland. The first instance comes to life in the work, care, and movements that particular bodies perform as part of 24-hour care. The second instance relates to the ways in which 24-hour care is discussed. It is significant in that it shapes and legitimises 24-hour care as a form of elder care. Words can be powerful; their specific use in discourse can attach meaning; they can value or devalue something. Recognising this potency can give insight in the ways in which words and discussions are integral part of how the highly contested field as well as the very meaning of 24-hour care are negotiated.

As an emerging field, private live-in care in German-speaking Switzerland represents a timely case of waging care. 24-hour care is both highly specific for example in terms of the roles agencies play, and is of wider significance in that it addresses a number of intricate processes and power relations which are relevant to analyses of paid care in other contexts. Recognising specifically the particularity of the ways in which 24-hour has been discussed and its significance for the emerging field of Swiss live-in care, this thesis focuses on the ways in which 24-hour care is articulated in the discourse. Care agencies, the media and public bodies, scholarship, individual care workers and live-in care workers' associations are central contributors to the larger debate on 24-hour care. They articulate powerful narratives of 24-hour care–as a controversial phenomenon, a useful service, a means of migration or a means to income, a possible solution to a national care deficit and so on and so forth. The research papers collected in this thesis analyse and critically discuss dominant narratives of 24-hour care.

The following questions have guided this endeavour:
How has 24-hour care been discussed in German-speaking Switzerland?

- *Which are the central discussions of 24-hour care and what is their political significance?*
- *How do care agencies discuss 24-hour care on their websites?*

In order to explore these questions, I approached the field of Swiss live-in care from a feminist perspective. In particular the notions of work, gender, and bodies facilitated a critical and integrative analysis of live-in care that takes into account both the embodied and discursive elements of the problematic.

Based on the above research questions, the papers presented in this thesis discuss dominant narratives of 24-hour care with regards to political implications and theoretical outlook. Each paper asks different questions, approaches 24-hour care from a different angle. The papers explore notions of place and difference in discussions on 24-hour care; the relationship of live-in care-givers' subjectivities and their daily work, care-giving and regular movements; the question whether remuneration and market integration devalue care-giving and turn it into a good; care workers' visibility and participation in Switzerland beyond formal recognition; and constructions of 24-hour care in the Swiss media.

The papers' analyses illustrate how the struggle for the meaning of 24-hour care and the work's valuation underlies many issues and aspects of current live-in care practice. Specifically, the papers' analyses suggest that the ways in which we discuss and talk about 24-hour care and the bodies that move across space to assist elderly persons elsewhere are of fundamental importance for how we understand, and thus value, the work of live-in care and those who perform it.

Based on an epistemological conviction that the ways in which we talk about issues and re-present them in our discussions can be very powerful, this thesis applies discourse analytics in order to explore dominant narratives in discussions of 24-hour care. Much debate has focused on live-in carers–their work, characteristics, so-called places of origin and motivations to come to Switzerland. Agencies, academics, journalists and regulators have discussed care workers' 'heart-felt warmth', processes of 'ethnicisation' in live-in care and the phenomenon of 'Care-Migration'. Critical analysis of these narratives provides the basis for productive engagement with the number of inequalities and inherent power relations observed in 24-hour care.
In so doing, the thesis provides theory-inflected research that makes a critical feminist scientific contribution to a field of growing socio-political, policy, and economic significance and consequence which is of relevance both in and beyond the context of German-speaking Switzerland. Since studies on Swiss 24-hour care so far have focused predominantly on taking stock of the emergence and development of the field, the papers' theoretical work and conceptual outlook mark an original contribution to feminist and geographical scholarship on contemporary waged care. In all, the thesis addresses underlying inequities in 24-hour care through theory-inflected qualitative research.

1.3. The thesis' structure and overview table of research papers

Based on the treatment of my findings in three single-authored and two co-authored research papers, this thesis consists of two parts. Part one introduces and frames the research: it presents important context factors, discusses key theoretical concepts, elaborates the research design and gives insight into its operationalisation and the research process. Part two presents the research findings in the form of five research papers. Table 1 below gives an overview of the texts,

including their title, form and status of publication. The papers are represented in the latest form when this thesis was submitted.

In part one of the thesis, German material is translated into English with the German original either provided in the text, in brackets or, if longer and/or requiring explanation, as a footnote. The research papers in part two follow individual logics adapted to the purpose of the article and the respective journals' formal requirements.

As a brief note on how to navigate and engage with this thesis, I invite the reader to both read along and across the manuscript. The research papers build on and complement each other (see sub-section 5.2), and even though the conclusion comes before the research papers (as is customary in cumulative theses), the thesis builds a narrative. I wish you an insightful read.

Table 1: Overview of research papers

Paper	Title of research paper	Author(s)	Journal/publication	Status
1	'Places of difference: narratives of heart-felt warmth, ethnicisation and female care-migrants in Swiss live-in care'	Pelzelmayer, Katharina	*Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*	Published
2	'Caring, working, moving bodies: Subjektivierung und Körper in der Schweizer 24-Stunden Betreuung'[5]	Pelzelmayer, Katharina	Edited book entitled *Corps suisse(s), corps en Suisse*,[6] eds. M. Aceti, L. Tissot & C. Jaccoud	Accepted
3	'Care, pay, love: commodification and the spaces of live-in care'	Pelzelmayer, Katharina	*Social & Cultural Geography*	Accepted
4	'Short-term circular migration and gendered negotiation of the right to the city: The case of migrant live-in care workers in Basel, Switzerland'	Chau, Huey Shy; Pelzelmayer, Katharina; Schwiter, Karin	Special Issue *Gendered Right to the City* in *Cities: The International Journal of Urban Policy and Planning*	First revision submitted
5	'Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung für ältere Menschen in den Schweizer Medien'[7]	Schwiter, Karin; Pelzelmayer, Katharina; Thurnherr, Isabelle	*Swiss Journal of Sociology*	Accepted

[5] Translated title, 'Caring, working, moving bodies: subjectivation and bodies in Swiss 24-hour care'
[6] Translated title, 'Swiss body (bodies), bodies in Switzerland'
[7] Translated title, 'On the construction of 24-hour care for the elderly in the Swiss media'

2. Swiss live-in care: context and central aspects

This section introduces the thesis' empirical field: 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland. 24-hour care refers to the organisation of elder care as a private live-in arrangement. Private firms or care agencies are key facilitators of 24-hour care arrangements in Switzerland. The majority of live-in care-givers are European Union nationals who come to Switzerland for given periods of time in order to assist elderly people at their homes. Since 24-hour care is a live-in arrangement, care workers generally live at the household in which they work during their work assignment. In the last few years, 24-hour care has been the subject of controversial and intensifying public debate in German-speaking Switzerland. The media has been discussing the (social) desirability and legitimacy of organising elder care in the form of an individual around-the-clock arrangement, provided by internationally mobile women (see Ellner, 2012; Thurnherr, 2015). A 2011 headline in the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Bracher, 2011) illustrates this controversy:

> "Eine Altenpflegerin für weniger als 2000 Franken. Osteuropäerinnen arbeiten zu Dumpinglöhnen als Privatpflegerinnen in der Schweiz - ab dem 1. Mai [2011] legal".[8]

This headline fleshes out the controversy of the public discussion of 24-hour care. It does so in addressing central issues in 24-hour care: the price of private elder care, the places where private elder care-givers come from, and formal-legal aspects of private live-in care.

In reference to public and academic discussions of theses central issues, this section introduces the thesis' empirical field: 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland. I discuss crucial context factors, the modus operandi and fundamental aspects of 24-hour care and relevant academic debates of Swiss 24-hour care.

Sub-section 2.1. of this chapter explores noteworthy context factors which in their interplay have facilitated the emergence and current practice of 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland. In the socio-cultural arena, I discuss developments including increasing life expectancy and women's formal employment hours (2.1.1); in the political arena, I focus on Swiss public health policy and forms of elder care provision (2.1.2.); and in the legal arena, I engage with relevant regulations in the field of migration and work (2.1.3.). A detailed discussion of context factors affords a more thorough understanding of crucial parameters in

[8] Translation, 'An elder care-giver for less than 2000 Swiss Francs. Eastern European women work at dumping wages [low wages] as private care-givers in Switzerland – legal from May 1 [, 2011]'

both the emergence and the practice of 24-hour care. Based on this discussion of the empirical field's context, sub-section 2.2 goes on to discuss the modus operandi of Swiss 24-hour care to date. It explains 24-hour care with a focus on its three key defining characteristics: its organisation in the live-in form (sub-section 2.2.1.), the central role of agencies (sub-section 2.2.2.), and care workers' circular mobility (sub-section 2.2.3.). Sub-section 2.3 then relates these fundamental aspects of 24-hour care to major academic debates about Swiss live-in care, in particular about the provision of elder care services at the private household, the quality of care and conditions of work, women's so-called circular migration to Switzerland including its conceptualisation and regulation, and care workers' perspectives on live-in care.

2.1. Central context factors in the emergence of 24-hour care in Switzerland

2.1.1. Socio-cultural developments

There are a number of socio-cultural developments worth considering in a critical analysis of the current practice of Swiss live-in care. In reference to existing literature and the purpose of this thesis, this passage focuses on four interrelated developments/issues: increasing life expectancy, rising formal employment in women, changes in gendered understandings of caring responsibilities, and context-specific understandings of good care.

A noteworthy context factor in the emergence of 24-hour care concerns the rising life expectancy of people living in Switzerland. The Swiss Statistics Office (2010, p. 7) observes that 'over the last decades, the Swiss population's age structure has changed considerably … While the proportion of persons over 65 came to 10.3% in 1960, it already amounted to 16.6% in 2008'[9]. In this context, the Swiss Statistics Office (ibid, pp. 21-28) has calculated a number of possible degrees in the change of Swiss age structure; its "middle scenario" predicts that in 2060, 28.3% of the population will be over 65 years old (ibid, p. 22). The significance of this prognosis here is its indication of a concomitant growing demand for various elder care services (see Höpflinger et al., 2011).

A number of interrelated socio-cultural trends in Switzerland contribute to this growing demand for elder care services and in particular individual care arrangements at home. One important development here is the increase in women's formal employment. The OECD (2013) reported

[9] Original quote, 'Die Altersstruktur der Schweizer Bevölkerung hat sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten beträchtlich verändert … Während der Anteil der Personen ab 65 Jahren im Jahr 1960 bei 10,3% lag, betrug er 2008 bereits 16,6%.'

that 73.6 per cent of women in Switzerland pursued some form of formal employment. The report shows that Switzerland has one of the highest employment rates of women in OECD countries. Rising formal employment in women is a considerable factor in the field of elder care due to the fact that women have long been expected to provide informal and unpaid home care in particular for elderly relatives. Madörin's (2010, p. 94) research on unpaid care work in Switzerland shows that in 2004, women performed 70.6% of all work hours spent on unpaid non-medical care and assistance in private households. While women have increasingly engaged in formal employment, gendered expectations of caring responsibilities are undergoing a simultaneous process of re-articulation. It is, in other words, for many women no longer a given that they necessarily provide unpaid care to elderly family members.[10] A range of professional and private responsibilities, changing familial patterns, as well as often larger distances to family members make it difficult for female family members to provide care. However, this does not mean that relatives neglect elderly family members: Van Holten et al. (2013, pp. 34-36) found that families often express a pronounced desire for only the very best care for their elderly relatives. In the Swiss-German context, understandings of good care relate to an underlying desire to be taken care of at one's own private home. As such, the wish to be able to stay at one's home in times of illness or old age is a central defining characteristic of good elder care (ibid, p. 26). Since the private home is understood as a place of comfort and shelter, also formalised, paid care that takes place there is expected to be particularly caring and 'solicitous' (ibid, p. 35). For these reasons, many Swiss families choose to pay for a private individual arrangement at the elderly's household–24-hour care rather than opting for public elderly people's homes, for example.

2.1.2. Public health policy and forms of elder care provision

Sub-section 2.1.1. pointed out that women including female family members have historically provided the bulk of elder care in informal, unpaid settings. While such expectations have not vanished (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 115-117), this passage discusses the public regulation and organisation of non-medical elder care in recent Swiss health and social security policies. In so doing, this section gives an insight in policy factors that have been of relevance in the emergence of 24-hour care.

[10] In particular since many women are already engaged in a combination of paid and unpaid work; and since many Swiss households buy in financially intensive domestic services in order to compensate for women's formal employment (see Madörin, 2010, p. 97).

At present, elderly persons who look for non-medical care (help, assistance) at home have to navigate a field characterised by the simultaneous co-operation and competition of public and private sector providers (including care agencies). This is for a number of reasons. To start with, relevant public health and care services are the purview of different levels and bodies. Most importantly, current regulation on health care is federal, while elder care resides either with the canton or the community (Schilliger, 2014, p. 108). This means that general public health care and elder care are regulated differently, the latter varying according to canton or community throughout Switzerland. In this context, public services for the elderly have included elderly people's homes in the community, transfer benefits including supplementary benefits and compensation payments (*Ergänzungsleistungen*, *Hilflosenentschädigung*), as well as non-cash, in-kind benefits (Strohmeier Navarro Smith, 2010, pp. 102-105).

Furthermore, the provision of and access to particular elder care services may vary depending on individuals' insurance plans. This is because health insurance is mandatory in Switzerland but residents are free to choose among a number of competing private insurances. A further important point here is that the Swiss mandatory medical care insurance (*obligatorische Krankenpflegeversicherung*, OKP) distinguishes between medical care services (*Pflege*) and assistance/help (*Betreuung*). *Pflege* is defined as medical activities including administration of medicine and injections, while *Betreuung* refers to assistance with activities and chores of daily life including help with washing and getting dressed. In reference to the OKP, health care insurances generally only cover medical care services for the elderly at their homes (Bundesamt für Statistik, 2015, p. 2). As a result of this distinction, the elderly person respectively their family often bear a considerable amount of the financial costs of assistance (*Betreuung*) at home; the cost of assistance is therefore individualised and privatised (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 109-112). Nevertheless there is demand for private home assistance (see sub-section 2.1.1.). Pubic, community, non-governmental, and not-for-profit organisations but also commercial firms and self-employed care workers have provided non-family care services to the elderly at their private households (Bundesamt für Statistik, 2015, p. 2). They have mainly offered outpatient care service, which are called *Spitex*[11] services in German-speaking Switzerland (see Eggenberger, 2013). In *Spitex* outpatient elder care, a mobile care provider visits an elderly person at their private home, often several times a day. According to the Swiss Statistics Office (2015, p. 1), 'in

[11] The abbreviation *Spitex* stands for *Spital-externe Dienste*; literally "outside-of-hospital [care] services" in English; translates to outpatient care.

2014, 267.715 persons made use of help and medical care at home (Spitex). Nearly half (48%) were at least 80 years old'[12]. In this context, Schilliger (2014, pp. 112-115) points out that the impetus of 'outpatient before inpatient'[13] elder care has led to a greater development towards home care, which however focuses primarily on medical care services.

Building on these observations, scholars have critically analysed the ways in which the interplay of these context factors has facilitated the emergence of 24-hour live-in care in Switzerland. In terms of public health care policy, Schwiter et al. (2015, p. 1) maintain that 'an austerity rationality in public spending and the neoliberal restructuring of public health services paved the way for the emergence of private suppliers of 24 hours home care'. In other words, current public austerity measurements have contributed to the trend of individualising non-medical care at the private household and pronounced it in the form of live-in care that is provided by internationally mobile women.

As this form of home care works with care-givers who regularly cross national borders, the next sub-section gives an overview of relevant laws and regulations in the field of migration and work.

2.1.3. Relevant migration and work regulation

24-hour care is a comparatively recent development that has to large extents been based on European women's cross-border mobility to Switzerland in order to provide home assistance to the Swiss elderly. The emergence and practice of 24-hour care is thus closely tied to the legal fields of work and migration. Discussion of 24-hour care with regard to work and migration has been considerable and controversial (see introduction of section 2 and research paper five). In this context, the Swiss Federal Council (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 4) is currently conducting a fundamental assessment of the legal parameters of women workers' circular migration for the purpose of working as live-in elder care-givers in Switzerland. A report commissioned as part of this assessment observes that 'the conditions of work–in particular the hours of work and rest–for female circular migrants in 24-hour elder care are currently not regulated in a binding way'[14] (B S S Volkswirtschaftliche Beratung, 2016, p. iv).

[12] Original quote, ' Im Jahr 2014 haben 268'715 Personen Hilfe und Pflege zu Hause (Spitex) in Anspruch genommen. Fast die Hälfte (48%) davon waren mindestens 80 Jahre alt.'

[13] Original, 'ambulant vor stationär' (Schilliger, 2014, p. 112)

[14] Original quote, 'Die Arbeitsbedinungen – insbesondere die Arbeits- und Ruhezeiten – von Pendelmigrantinnen in der 24-Stunden-Betagtenbetreuung sind aktuell nicht verbindlich geregelt …'

For this reason, it is important to investigate the laws and rules of procedure. Furthermore, Schilliger (2014, p. 143) asserts that laws and regulations represent the 'formalised rules of the game' ('*Spielregeln*') which enable or limit given practices. Based on these observations, this sub-section gives a brief outline of the most important context factors on the formal-political level. In the case of 24-hour live-in care, the legal codes and regulations of industrial law (*Arbeitsrecht*), in particular the labour act (*Arbeitsgesetz*), the law on the arrangement of employment (*Bundesgesetz über die Arbeitsvermittlung und den Personalverleih*), and the right of abode (*Aufenthaltsrecht*) and migration policy (*Migrationsrecht und -politik*) are worth considering.

In the legal field of work, I give an overview of Swiss industrial law and legislation on arranged/placed work. In Swiss industrial law, the 1964 labour act (*Arbeitsgesetz*, ArG) is of particular importance to this thesis because while the ArG is applicable to all public and private enterprises in Switzerland, there are seven exceptions, one being private households (ArG Artikel 2g: Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 1964). This exclusion means that any employment relation that takes place at a private household is not protected by the federal labour act. The Swiss Federal Council (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 4) spells out the problem in concrete terms for the context of live-in care: 'since industrial law does not find application to private households, hours of work and rest [in 24-hour care] are not regulated in a comprehensive manner'[15]. The issue is further pronounced since the mandatory employment parameters as laid down in the Swiss *Obligationenrecht* (OR)[16] are not necessarily 'relevant' (Medici & Schilliger, 2012, p. 19) to cross-border live-in care workers. So since the protection of workers in the domestic sphere is not guaranteed in a formal and binding way, their practical labour rights often depend on contracts and–informal–negotiations to observe these contracts. Recognising the lack of legally binding protection for workers, there have been efforts to mitigate the potential issues through contracts. In 2011, a standard employment contract (*Normalarbeitsvertrag*) specifically for private households (*Hauswirtschaft*) was introduced on the federal level. This standard employment contract[17] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2016) also introduced minimum hourly wages for workers in private households. Out of four levels, the first level stipulates at least 18.55 Swiss Francs per hour for unskilled workers while the highest

[15] Original, 'Da das Arbeitsgesetz auf private Haushaltungen keine Anwendung findet, sind die Arbeits- und Ruhezeiten gesetzlich nicht umfassend geregelt.'
[16] Translation: right of obligations (Bundesversammlung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft, 1991)
[17] Original, 'Normalarbeitsvertrag für Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer in der Hauswirtschaft'. English translation: standard employment contract for employees at private households

category stipulates a minimum of 20.35 Swiss Francs per hour for workers with a Swiss Federal certificate (see also Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 18). In December 2016, the standard employment contract was prolonged for three years, stipulating now minimum hourly wages of CHF 18.90 for unskilled workers (Swiss Federal Council, 2016, p. 12). Furthermore, a collective agreement (collective employment contract)[18] was introduced in 2012 (for a critical analysis, see Schilliger, 2014, p. 152). It stipulates minimal standards concerning the conditions of work and pay in the entire field of work placement. Since it was renewed in 2016, the agreement applies to all placement firms (Swissstaffing et al., 2016). However, the practice of workers' protection remains complex–in particular regarding the field of social security. This is because even though in theory all relevant social security legislation applies, employment relations in the domestic spheres continue to be marked by wage and social insecurity (International Labour Organization, 2011; Schilliger, 2014, p. 148). Please refer to Medici (2012, pp. 29-36) for extensive detail on social security regulation applicable to live-in care and to the Federal Council's (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, pp. 16-18) report for an assessment of the legal aspects regarding the securing of care workers' personal rights (*Persönlichkeitsrechte*) in current practices of 24-hour care. In particular, the OR (Artikel 328) stipulates the employer's duty of care (*Fürsorgepflicht*) in order to protect the worker's personality (*Schutz der Persönlichkeit*). *Inter alia,* this includes regular working hours and rest, the freedom to determine one's whereabouts, and free time (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 16). However, since 24-hour care is a highly individual arrangement and employment relation that takes place at private households (which are to date not covered by industrial law), it is very difficult to monitor working conditions and duty of care. See also sub-section 2.2.2. for the practice of these legal aspects.

Furthermore, 24-hour care has to date been practiced predominantly as an arranged or intermediated field of work/employment. This means that in general, an agency or firm organises the care relationship, respectively arranges the employment relation. It is therefore important to consider currently effective legislation in this arena. At present, the law on the arrangement of employment AVG (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015a)[19] regulates formally

[18] Original, 'Gesamtarbeitsvertrag Personalverleih', often referred to by its abbreviation *GAV*. Alternative German terms for 'Gesamtarbeitsvertrag' are 'Tarifvertrag' and 'Kollektivvertrag'.
[19] Original title AVG, 'Bundesgesetz über die Arbeitsvermittlung und den Personalverleih'. Translation: Act on the arrangement of employment and temporary staffing. See also (1991)

arranged work. The AVG is applicable to care workers whose formal employment is either arranged or who are placed in a household by an agency; self-employed workers (even when mediated or placed) are not covered (Medici, 2012, p. 24). As this complex differentiation indicates, it is in practice difficult to legally qualify agencies' actions (ibid). This is because agencies offer a range of facilitating services, often in different and emerging employment fields. Sub-section 2.2.2. explains the difference between arrangement of employment and work placement in a discussion of care agencies' activities and roles.

The third large legal field of interest here concerns the right of abode (*Aufenthaltsrecht*) and migration regulations. Legal rules, codes, and ordinances that regulate people's mobility to Switzerland and their right to abode and/or residence are of underlying importance in 24-hour care because the majority of live-in care workers is at some point involved in a form of cross-border mobility. The patterns of mobility are heterogeneous as individual trajectories are manifold. At the same time, legal possibilities of entry to and abode or residence in Switzerland structure care workers' overall experiences of live-in care. Since the majority of live-in care workers who have been engaged in 24-hour care in the last years are European Union citizens, the bilateral agreements between Switzerland and the European Union (EU) respectively the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) are of particular concern here (Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft, 2002 [1999]; Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2002). In 2002, the bilateral Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons (FMP)[20] granted workers with European Union citizenship full personal movement to Switzerland. In 2011, this freedom was extended to the citizens of the so-called EU-8. The EU-8 refers to the eight of the ten countries that had acceded the European Union in 2004: the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (Staatssekretariat für Migration, 2013). Based on the Agreement on the Free Movement of Persons, citizens of these countries can take up various forms of work in Switzerland. One of these forms is the provision of a so-called cross-border service (*grenzüberschreitende Dienstleistungserbringung*). It allows citizens of included EU/EFTA countries to work for up to three months a year in Switzerland (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 7). It does not cover agencies operating from outside of Switzerland. In reference to these freedoms of movement and work, care agencies have recruited the majority of care workers

[20] Also Free Movement of People. It is one of the European Union's three fundamental freedoms. In German, 'Personenfreizügigkeit'

employed in Switzerland in the European Union member countries Poland, Hungary, and Slovakia (SRF, 2011). In this sense, the FMP can be said to formally facilitate some forms of cross-border mobility, residence, and work currently practiced in 24-hour care. Here it is worth noting that in the field of abode, European citizens' right to legally enter Switzerland translates to a number of forms of regular residences, including permanent residence. According to recent research (Schilliger, 2014, p. 145), three forms are most common: registered abode without residence permit when the annual duration of work falls below 90 days[21]; residency for the duration of the employment/placement contract in the form of a so-called L-permit (maximum of one year but renewable) if the duration of work exceeds 90 days per annum; and the so-called G-permit for 'regular cross-border commuters' (*Grenzgänger*) which is open-ended but technically only for workers who return to their place of permanent residence abroad for the weekend. Albeit this high level of formalisation of entry and abode, there are no exact statistics on the number of foreign women working in Switzerland as live-in carers at any given time because to date there does not exist a differentiation between employment in the domestic sphere as a whole and live-in work at the private household in particular[22] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 7). See also research article five's discussion of this subject in relation to medial assumptions of a boom in live-in care. As a final point it is worth mentioning that recent and current political debates question live-in care. The Swiss Federal Council is currently considering a regulation of 24-hour care on the federal level, while the initiative 'stop mass immigration' was accepted by popular vote in February 2014 (Wyss et al., 2014). Depending on their particular implementation there could be considerable implications for the practice of live-in care. For example, the initiative includes the potential that the FMP be substantially curbed. The next sub-section engages with the central mechanisms of Swiss live-in care.

2.2. Swiss live-in care: fundamental aspects

The discussion of important context factors in sub-section 2.1. showed that Swiss 24-hour care is a complex field made up of heterogeneous practices. It however also indicates that the subject of this thesis–private 24-hour care organised by care agencies in German-speaking Switzerland–

[21] In the original, 'Meldepflichtige Kurzaufenthalter' (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 7). It refers to people who stay short term and are obliged to report to the Swiss authorities (register).
[22] The general employment sector is called "Hauswirtschaft" and the jobs that take place at the private household are grouped as "Hauswirtschaftsberufe"; they include cleaning and other domestic services, and are importantly often live-out jobs.

exhibits a number of distinctive characteristics. This sub-section discusses the key defining characteristics of Swiss 24-hour care. They are the organisation of 24-hour care as a live-in arrangement, i.e. the worker lives at the elderly person's private home (sub-section 2.2.1.); the central involvement of care agencies in the arrangement and design of 24-hour care services (2.2.2.); and care workers' cross-border circular movements (2.2.3.).

2.2.1. Live-in: questions of power when place of work and home coincide

An important characteristic that distinguishes 24-hour care from other forms of paid elder care services as discussed in 2.1 is that 24-hour care takes place at the elderly person's home and makes claims of an around-the-clock service. We can see this in the ways in which care agencies describe their services on their websites. For example, one care agency (Sentivo, 2014) states,

> '24-HOUR AROUND-THE CLOCK CARE – 365 DAYS A YEAR
> We take care of you in your familiar environment at home, close to your relatives, friends, and neighbours.
> The care-giver (f, m) lives with you and can therefore be present 'around the clock'.[23]

This example illustrates the direct and powerful articulation of 24-hour care as live-in around-the-clock service. Importantly, these claims are not just in the name "24-hour care" or a matter of marketing because the concrete arrangement of the work turns these claims into concrete expectations of around-the-clock assistance, respectively care-givers' 24-hour presence. This is because by definition and arrangement, the elderly person's private household is *both* where 24-hour care takes place *and* where the care workers live when they take care of an elderly person (see Truong, 2011). In other words, there is a spatial simultaneity of workplace and place of residence during the work assignment. For this reason, 24-hour care is considered a live-in arrangement and 24-hour care workers are sometimes referred to as live-in care workers or simply live-ins (Truong et al., 2012, p. 1). The conceptualisation of 24-hour care as a form of paid live-in elder care refers to typologies of employment relations in the private household, which distinguishes between live-in and live-out arrangements (Schwager, 2012, p. 167). The live-in/live-out distinction is significant in particular in terms of the power relations between

[23] Original, '24-STUNDEN-RUNDUM-BETREUUNG – 365 TAGE IM JAHR
Wir betreuen Sie in Ihrer vertrauten Umgebung zu Hause, in der Nähe Ihrer Angehörigen, Freunde und Nachbarn.
Die Betreuerin oder der Betreuer wohnt bei Ihnen und kann so „Rund um die Uhr" anwesend sein.'

worker and employer/caree. We can observe how these relations play out in hiring practices based on matters regarding the formal organisation and daily organisation of live-in care work. The marked tendency to employ internationally mobile women as live-in carers is significant also here because workers' relative short stays in household (and patterns of mobility) make them potentially more vulnerable to asymmetrical power relations in live-in care. For example, it can be observed that it is predominantly in jobs for which a range of domestic activities are expected that mobile workers live at the very household in which they work. For example, so-called au pair nannies' area of responsibility often exceeds child care; so-called domestic maids are often expected to do a number of works around the house and family (c.f. Cox, 2006, p. 72); and likewise domiciliary (elder) care workers often cook and clean in addition to looking after an elderly person (Care-Info, 2014). Multitasking is common, as workers take care, look after, and do a number of these activities at once. In the words of one care worker (in Schilliger, 2014, p. 230), 'I am cooking soup, at the same time I'm doing laundry and I'm talking to mister …'.[24] See sub-section 2.3.4. for more on care workers' experiences of live-in care.

In the formal organisation of live-in care work, power relations also become visible in matters of pay and provision/guarantee of social security. In Swiss live-in care, employment contracts illustrate the interplay of power relations and conditions of work. Live-in workers often sign temporary employment contracts that end with the elderly person's death and/or so-called chain contracts (*Kettenverträge*), which refer to a succession of temporary contracts. This organisation of work can lead to both job and social insecurity, in particular since death is not a foreseeable event and is thus not a viable reason to end a temporary working contract according to the OR (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, pp. 16-17).

In the daily performance of care, these power relations predominantly regard the constant presence or "on call" availability of the worker. For example, women report that they stay in the house most of the day and that they would leave only to go shopping or go for a walk with the elderly person (Care-Info, 2014). This indicates how the live-in arrangement also creates power relations of a distinctly spatial character. Of particular salience here are the in sub-section 2.1.3. discussed guarantee that a worker employed in the private sphere can distinguish between work and free time, and determine their whereabouts (including one's right to privacy and the possibility to leave the house/place of work). However, live-in care workers' spatial tying to their place of work can considerably influence their independence and there is no guarantee for

[24] Original, 'Ich bin am Suppe kochen, gleichzeitig mache ich noch die Wäsche und rede mit Herrn ...'.

privacy, free time, and time for oneself. This becomes clear when we consider that live-out workers employed in the domestic sphere including cleaners and outpatient care workers generally have their own apartment which is spatially separate from the places and people they attend to and take care of. Based on this crucial spatial difference to live-in jobs, care workers employed at elderly people's or care homes might still have long but nevertheless regulated working hours and a place to stay that not only spatially but also temporally separates them from work.

Overall, this passage's discussion indicates the organisation of elder care as a live-in arrangement is related to asymmetric power relations and unverifiable conditions of work. Schwager (2012, p. 167) sums up the issue in pointing out that 'for many irregular domestic workers, these live-in conditions are a first stop in the arrival country [Switzerland], from which they try to liberate themselves as quickly as possible'.[25] Sub-section 2.3.2. gives more detail on how relevant bodies have engaged with conditions of work and power relations in live-in care.

2.2.2. Care agencies and the importance of websites

We have seen that per definition 24-hour care both takes place at the elderly person's private household and is organised as a live-in arrangement. This passage gives an insight in the heterogeneous practice of 24-hour care with a focus on the private sector enterprises that have to date predominantly organised, arranged, and administered 24-hour care arrangements. They are often called care agencies and are highly diverse in terms of their organisational structure, size, motivations, functions, roles, and services (Truong et al., 2012, p. 9). Nevertheless, care agencies play a key role in the field of private 24-hour elder care services. Their general purview is the arrangement and organisation of 24-hour care arrangements: they identify potential workers and clients, and link them in a care relationship. In this sense, care agencies considerably shape important parameters, terms and conditions of 24-hour care, including recruitment, so-called matching, working conditions, and the price of the service. We can see the potency of the combination of a large number of diverse praxes and the potential to shape important parameters in the fields of remuneration and social security, which are characterised by low pay and often uncertain insurance status (see Schilliger, 2014, pp. 203-239).

[25] Original, 'Für viele Sans-Papiers-Hausarbeiterinnen sind diese Live-in-Verhältnisse eine erste Station im Ankunftsland, aus der sie sich so schnell wie möglich zu befreien versuchen.' The term 'Sans-Papier' is common in relevant Swiss literature and translates to 'without papers'.

A further distinctive characteristic of care agencies is that the majority of agencies operate via the Internet. Agencies design their websites as easily accessible platforms on which they advertise their services to potential customers as well as potential workers. As Schilliger (2014, p. 161) asserts, 'still the main advertising platform for firms are their own websites'.[26] On these websites, many agencies have developed a very distinctive way of describing their services, the general idea of 24-hour care, as well as their roles and place within the larger context of elder care (Schilling, 2012; Thurnherr, 2015). For example, one agency (GETcare, 2014a) describes its offer of 24-hour care in the following way,

> 'you and your relatives benefit from an **affectionate care** in your familiar environment by a trained care-giver – and that around the clock!
> Our **care-givers (f, m)** take over household chores and shopping with greatest care and the necessary caution.
> Moreover, the **care-giver** acts as a **cleaner** and sees to it that you feel comfortable and at home.
> **GETcare offers you 24-hour care at fair and transparent prices!**' (bold in original; see footnote for original German quote)[27]

This quote gives an idea of how care agencies describe their 24-hour care services on their Internet websites. The quote's (original) bold text indicates that the care worker and their way of caring are often at the centre of attention. The above example also shows how agencies refer to a range of domestic and other activities, and care-givers' potential involvement in work beyond the strict definition of assistance. Research papers one and three analyse care agencies' descriptions of their services in greater detail. Furthermore, the majority of care agencies that offer 24-hour care for elder in Switzerland also have ties to the European countries from which

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[26] Original, 'Doch als hauptsächliche Werbeplattform nutzen die Unternehmen eigene Websites'.

[27] Original German quote (including bold),

> 'Sie und Ihre Angehörigen profitieren von einer **liebevollen Betreuung** in Ihrem vertrauten Umfeld durch eine ausgebildete Betreuungsperson – und das rund um die Uhr!
> Haushaltsarbeiten, Einkäufe, werden Ihnen von unseren **Betreuer/innen** mit grösster Fürsorge und der nötigen Vorsicht abgenommen.'
> Die **Betreuungsperson** agiert ausserdem als **Putzhilfe** und sorgt dafür, dass Sie sich in Ihrem Zuhause rundum wohl fühlen.
> **GETcare bietet Ihnen 24-h Betreuung zu fairen und transparenten Preisen an!**'

This quote also shows the difficulty of translating the variety of German terms and expressions that translate to the English notion of "care": *liebevolle Betreuung:* affectionate/loving care, *Fürsorge* and *Vorsicht:* care, *fürsorgen*: take care that/see to something.

they or partner agencies/agents recruit workers. Based on this observation, Truong et al. (2012, p. 9) have pointed out agencies' 'cross-border'[28] organisation as a central characteristic.

Based on these general points about care agencies, it can be observed that care agencies' concrete functions and roles in the arrangement of live-in care services are manifold and heterogeneous. To certain extents agencies' functions and roles relate to their legal organisational structure. As discussed in sub-section 2.1.3., Swiss regulations that currently apply to live-in care work in the private household distinguish between (a) the arrangement of employment–*Arbeitsvermittlung*– and (b) work placement or temporary staffing–*Personalverleih* (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015a). In the case of *Arbeitsvermittlung*, an agency takes up the intermediary role between the parties involved in the care arrangement. This means that the agency's broad function consists of linking a care worker and a person looking for a live-in care-giver. The activities involved in fulfilling this role are manifold and can span all aspects of arranging and maintaining/administering an employment relation. Therefore the agencies that facilitate and organise an employment relation in this way are referred to as labour market intermediaries and/or employment agencies. Medici (2012, p. 28) here explains that according to the AVG (act on the arrangement of employment), the signing of a contract between the elderly/their family and the worker legally qualifies agencies' matchmaking activities as *Arbeitsvermittlung* (arrangement of employment). The second relevant legal form of organised work is *Personalverleih.* In the case of *Personalverleih,* agencies place workers in private households. The important point here is that in *Personalverleih* the agency directly employs workers (Truong et al., 2012, p. 11). Employment by the agency is a fundamental difference to *Arbeitsvermittlung* because there the elderly person/their family is the formal employer. In English, the agencies that place workers in households are therefore referred to as temporary staffing agencies or placement agencies. In German, the Swiss legal term *Personalverleih* refers to the fact that the agency employs a person and then literally "rents out" (*verleihen*) their staff to a care-recipient/their family. However, temporary staffing agencies are also often involved in the matchmaking process and offer other services that maintain and administer the relationship between the care-giver and the care-recipient. While the extent of these services varies from case to case, it nevertheless indicates the highly complex practice of work/employment organisation

[28] Original, 'grenzüberschreitend'.

and administration (see Chau, forthcoming). The heterogeneity of practices can blur the fine legal distinction between arrangement of employment and work placement/temporary staffing. In relation to their lager significance, research has discussed these intermediary bodies as key drivers of a dynamic emerging market (Truong et al., 2012, p. 20). As key facilitators of an elder care arrangement that is held as a viable alternative to both care in an elderly people's home and informal home care, 24-hour care agencies have become prominent in the larger field of elder care, which–not least in the context of demographic aging–is gaining in socio-political importance. As such, public and medial debate has discussed the ways in which agencies make business along the fine lines between market and morals, private and public space (see Schwiter et al., 2014, p. 213). Based on this overview of care agencies' functions and roles, section three relates Swiss care agencies' characteristics in more detail to conceptualisations of intermediary bodies.

2.2.3. Care workers' circular movements

In sub-section 2.1.3. we have seen that mainly women from EU countries have been providing 24-hour care in Switzerland. While their mobility has marked the basis for current praxes of 24-hour care, workers' individual movements are diverse and have led to many forms of abode and residence. This passage introduces this fundamental aspect of Swiss live-in care with regards to the forms, durations, organisation, and implications of care workers' movements.

Live-in care workers' movements are as individual as care relationships are, as manifold are both women's motivations to take up 24-hour elder care and their movements to Switzerland in order to work as live-in care-givers (see Schilliger, 2014, pp. 213, 233, 271). Live-in care workers' movements in and out of Switzerland are often described as circular, since many workers go back and forth between Switzerland and their so-called home countries in regularly spaced intervals (Truong et al., 2012, pp. 11-12, 14-15). Common intervals range from two to four weeks but there are also irregular arrangements in which the time at the worker's so-called home is longer than the time in Switzerland, as well as longer periods of two to three months' work (ibid., p. 12). This shows that in practice not all live-in carers move in strictly regular cycles. Workers' individual rhythms also relate to the system or practice of rotation (as arranged by a care agency, for instance). In many cases, care workers alternate taking care of one elderly person. This means that two or more care worker take turns working at a given household, each for four weeks, for example. In this arrangement, workers can to a certain extent coordinate

their assignment (time spent working) with their colleagues and as such sometimes adapt the rhythm of their movements to their individual situations. Overall then, live-in care workers' movements to Switzerland can be considered predominantly temporary and short term, in particular when comparing them to other mobile domestic workers who often move long term/permanently (England & Henry, 2013).

Within this categorisation of temporary and short-term mobility, care workers' movements have to date taken the form of variously sized circles. In terms of residence this means that live-in care workers from the European Union stay in Switzerland for different periods of time and with a number of residence permits or registration. The specific form of registration or residence permit may change over time and often depends on the duration of the work assignment, the employment contract, and/or the worker's individual plan of how long to work in Switzerland. Depending on the duration of the contract, their individual situation, and working/employment contract, some care workers have (temporary) residence permits; others register with the authorities, while yet others are not registered. Sub-section 2.1.3. discussed the three most common regular forms of abode for mobile workers. They include registered abode without Swiss residence permit when the annual duration of work falls below 90 days; the so-called L residence permit which grants residency for the duration of the employment/placement if the annual work exceeds 90 days; and the so-called G-permit for regular cross-border commuters. Some live-in care workers also live in Switzerland or stay at some point. In this sense, some live-in care-givers might have a so-called B-permit, which refers to a 5-year residence permit that is largely contingent on gainful employment. In case of a B-permit, the care worker can be registered at the elderly person's house or their own apartment. Furthermore, Schilliger (2014, p. 277) reports that before the introduction of the FMP, some live-in care-givers also used to use three-month tourist visas.

In terms of how live-in care workers move from and to their workplaces in Switzerland, it can be observed that live-in care-givers make use of a number of modes of transports. Initially, buses, respectively shuttle buses organised by care agencies or their partners were the most common form of transport. Some care agencies charge workers for transport, either a flat rate or for each journey/leg. In other arrangements, care workers might be responsible for organising their transport. Since low-cost airlines have started to offer direct flights from Switzerland to various

relevant points in Europe, live-in care workers have made use of these budget offers for planned returns or spontaneous journeys. A 2013 Swiss Television documentary (SRF DOK, 2013) accompanied care workers on their bus journeys; it shows how these journeys can be highly emotional for workers (see also research paper section 4.2). In this context, Schilliger (2014, p. 256) observes that the shuttle buses that take care workers to and from their work are 'part of an transnational migration infrastructure … [that] create a cross-border bridge between the two life realities in which the modern migrant worker [the live-in care workers] move'.[29] These observations address two important aspects of live-in care workers' circular migration. First, these modes of transport enable a practice of live-in elder care which consists of short-term work assignments and which is based on workers' regular movements. The second aspect refers to the ways in which these organised journeys connect two places which are often understood to represent home/family and work, respectively, and the kinds of "lifestyles" this gives rise to. A discussion of the two aspects gives an insight in both the underlying rationale and implications of circular migration for the purpose of live-in care.

The practice of 24-hour care has been contingent upon the employment of predominantly mobile women. A recent study (B S S Volkswirtschaftliche Beratung, 2016, p. v) commissioned by the Swiss Federal Council reports that the majority of live-in care workers are women over the age of 45 from Central-Eastern Europe with 'extensive experience' in care-giving.[30] This is noteworthy for two reasons here. First, the combination of these characteristics has been of central consideration in the formation of the live-in elder care workforce. Secondly and relatedly, the ways in which 24-hour care has been arranged and practiced have been based on the valorisation of these characteristics, in particular workers' sex and so-called origins. As Schwiter et al. (2014) show, workers' sex and origins are valorised in that assumptions about them serve as fundamental legitimisations of 24-hour care. These assumptions have included stereotyping notions about Eastern European women and assumptions about the state of particular national economies including wage and welfare levels (see research paper three and one for more detail). We can see these assumptions in the so-called win-win or even win-win-

[29] Original, 'Die Shuttlebusse, die tagtäglich zwischen Polen und der Schweiz zirkulieren, sind Teil einer transnationalen Migrations-Infrastruktur. ... Die Buslinien schaffen dabei eine grenzüberschreitende Brücke zwischen den zwei Lebensrealitäten, in denen sich die modernen Wanderarbeiter_innen [die *live-in* Betreuerinnen] bewegen.'

[30] It has been reported that a considerable proportion of women working as live-in carers have completed secondary or tertiary education (c.f. e.g. Schilliger, 2014, p. 209).

win argument. As one agency (GETcare, 2014b) explains, in 24-hour care all parties involved benefit because it is an 'affordable' arrangement for the elderly and their families, and an opportunity to work for a 'better salary' for care workers[31] (original quote in footnote; see also research paper five). At the same time, however, journalistic reports have brought attention to the limitations and/or implications of short-term circular mobility for the purpose of live-in care. For example an article in the newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Keim, 2014) discusses live-in carers' conditions of work in terms of 'exploitation'[32]. This indicates a critical questioning of an elder care arrangement that consists of temporary work assignments performed by workers who regularly cross national borders in order to fulfil them.

This combination of short-term periods of work and regular cross-border commuting has also given rise to new "lifestyles". Since many care workers commute regularly across national borders, Schilliger speaks of workers' two different life realities (quote above). Schilliger (2014, p. 257) locates these life realities in two different places, which she conceptualises in terms of a 'family household' and a 'household of waged employment'.[33] In other words, many care workers who regularly commute across borders have at least two households (including their members) to take care of (see Haidinger, 2013). Many women not only go back and forth between the two in regular intervals but also engage in forms of (paid and unpaid) care-taking which take place at both places as well as in-between them at the same time. In other words, a woman who is currently engaged in a live-in assignment abroad might at the same time see to her caring responsibilities towards her children at school, her partner, her network or larger family, and elderly relatives. These practices point to the fundamental implications that circular mobility can have on the daily lives of women who work and regularly move across political borders in order to provide live-in care to elderly persons elsewhere.

2.3. Key discussions of Swiss 24-hour care in the literature

The first two sub-sections of this chapter have introduced and discussed the thesis' empirical field in reference to relevant academic scholarship on Swiss live-in care. Based on this

[31] Original quote, 'Somit profitieren beide Parteien – für Sie [customer] wird die notwendige 24-Stunden-Betreuung erschwinglich, und für die Beträuungskräften bietet sich die Möglichkeit zu einem besseren Salär in ihrem erlernten Beruf zu arbeiten.' (Mistake in Original). The win-win-win argument includes the individual elderly person/family, the worker, and the larger society/public health sector.

[32] In the original, 'Ausbeutung'.

[33] Original terms, 'Familienhaushalt' and 'Erwerbshaushalt'.

engagement, this sub-section provides an overview of relevant discussions of Swiss 24-hour care in the literature.

24-hour care in Switzerland is both discussed as an emerging field and in reference to/as part of larger debates on current issues and developments in the provision of medical care and help for the elderly in Switzerland (Guinchard et al., 2015; Höpflinger, 2006; Madörin, 2013). Discussions regarding the latter engage with health policy, normative and political discussion of the most desirable and adequate ways of growing old and being taken care of, as well as underlying issues of family patterns, questions of gender, care and, responsibility. In the context of these larger discussions on aging and the provision of care in Switzerland, (a) the provision of elder care services at the private household, (b) the quality of care and conditions of work, (c) women's so-called circular migration to Switzerland, its conceptualisation and regulation, and (d) care workers' perspectives on live-in care have been key issues in specific studies on 24-hour care.

2.3.1. The private household and the market

The private household has been both the starting point and focus of scholarship on Swiss live-in care (Greuter & Schilliger, 2010; Medici, 2012; Schilliger, 2014; Truong et al., 2012). The reasons for this interest in the private household relates to the elderly person's private household's centrality and comparable visibility in 24-hour care. It is the place which the discourse describes as the optimum locus for care, the place in which private live-in care takes place, the place of formal employment relations, and a place which nevertheless remains categorically excluded from labour law protection to date. The private household has thus been explored as the complex pivot of 24-hour care. As part of this exploration, scholarship has investigated the modalities of the shift from informal 'family arrangements' of care (Weicht, 2010:7) to individual care organised by care agencies in the private household (Schwiter et al., 2015).

In this context, Swiss scholarship has discussed the private household in terms of a central locus in the context of an emerging care market (Truong et al., 2012, p. 20). Scientific studies have conceptualised this market both as a 'home care market'[34] (Schilling, 2012, p. 1) and a (segregated) 'labour market'[35] (Medici & Schilliger, 2012, p. 17). The term care market

[34] Original, 'Home Care Markt'.
[35] Original, 'Arbeitsmarkt'.

addresses the emergence of a new sector in the economy in which private sector firms offer individual live-in care services. The term labour market speaks to the formal employment relations involved in this new sector of live-in care services. Swiss scholars here refer to German-speaking bodies of literature which have used the market terminology in relevant contexts including in the case of Austrian live-in care (Bachinger, 2009) and in a more general context of care work (Lutz, 2005). Scholarship has thus discussed the private household both as the locus of private live-in care arrangements and as a central place in the emerging care market. In particular research papers three and five engage in greater depth with these issues.

2.3.2. The quality of care: the service, its conditions and character

There has been much debate about the "quality" of 24-hour care as a paid form of employment. The literature has discussed the "quality" of care in reference to its potential meanings and the provision/implementation of a high quality service as well as in reference to the conditions in which live-in care takes place. This means that the debate has addressed the question of how to both 'age and work in dignity'[36] (Denknetz & VPOD, 2013).

Regarding the notion of "aging in dignity", a central aspect of this debate concerns the perceived tension between quality and affordability (Bracher, 2011; Brütsch, 2016; Thurnherr, 2015). In the context of elder care, quality and affordability are discussed as mutually exclusive in the sense that a high quality provision of elder care is related to much direct personal contact and attention, preferably at one's own home, which in turn is understood as expensive. We can also see this in the case of elderly people's and care homes. They are discussed as an undesirable option because of a comparatively impersonal provision of care (Seifert & Schelling, 2013). As shown in sub-sections 2.2.2. and 2.2.3., private care agencies have built on this discourse in advertising elder care services as a combination of quality and affordability (Pflegehilfe Schweiz, 2014)[37].

Regarding the notion of "working in dignity", sub-sections 2.1.3. and 2.2.1. have given an extensive insight in the ways in which live-in care-givers' conditions of work in 24-hour care have been described as unregulated, problematic and precarious. Swiss literature has sought to examine this issue on a number of levels–from legal aspects and workers' emotional investment,

[36] Original title of conference talk, 'Würdig altern - würdig arbeiten in Pflege und Betreuung'
[37] As epitomized in this agency's slogan, 'Affordable care - priceless warmth' (original, 'Bezahlbare Pflege - unbezahlbare Herzlichkeit').

to psychological and physical strain and employment insecurity (see Truong, 2015). Furthermore, the particular and overarching problematic of power relations associated with live-in arrangements have been the subject of intensifying scientific enquiry from various geographical perspectives. These analyses help us understand this intricate issue in Swiss live-in care.

Explaining the relationship of power relations and conditions of work, Anderson (2007, p. 255) writes that 'because the home is a repository of moral values, … the power exercised over domestic work may be very direct, and 'personalistic' as well as 'materialistic' … For migrants this power is particularly brutal (International Labour Organization, 2005), as for live-in domestic work the employer/host family has the power to control access to means of survival–accommodation and food–as well as power over wages and social intercourse'. Anderson addresses two interrelated fundamental aspects of power in live-in care. Regarding the so-called personalistic aspect, it can be observed that the live-in arrangement represents a particularly intricate relation of power because it is very often certain groups of women who work as live-in carers. Like in many cases, it is internationally mobile (so-called migrant) women who have worked as live-in care-givers in Switzerland (Truong, 2015, p. 82). This aspect of mobility is important here, as Liang (2011, p. 1815) explains that it is given gender and racial ideologies that play a key role in the recruiting of mobile women as live-in workers which then 'justify the paid care done by these women and … produce their subordinate status .. [and are] utilized to legitimate and naturalize the gendered-racialized division of care labour within the global capitalist market'. In the context of Swiss live-in care, these particular power dynamics have been discussed in terms of 'ethnicisation' (see Schwiter et al., 2014). The concept has been used in scholarly analyses and studies on live-in care in a number of ways, for instance in order to address the intricate processes that underlie the recruitment and employment of circularly mobile women workers as live-in care-givers (see Schwiter et al., 2014 and research paper one).

Discussions of the "character" and value of care work in the context of private provisioning have also been part of the larger debate on the quality of care. This debate takes place in a field of great tension between a history of devaluing care-giving as unpaid reproductive work and contemporary ways of implicating care in formal employment relations. One part of this debate discusses private elder care in relation to feminist debates about so-called women's work or

feminised labour. These discussions point out that the underlying devaluation of care-giving is not fundamentally interrupted by contemporary moments of paying for care (Fraser, 2016, pp. 105-108; Schilliger, 2014, pp. 200, 249-251). At the same time, scholars also discuss the ways in which the private sector provisioning of elder care has turned elder care into a commercial product (Hochschild, 1983, 2003; Schwiter et al., 2015) and as such adversely impacted on the "character" of care (see for example Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 646; and research paper three for greater detail). Scholars' struggle to conceptually grasp this complex issue and to integrate both aspects of this dynamic have for example resulted in notions of 'emotional labour' and caring as a 'labour of love' (Boyer et al., 2013; Graham, 1983).

2.3.3. Women's movements, their conceptualisation and regulation

Women's movements to Switzerland for the purpose of live-in care have been a central topic in the literature. The chapter has shown that the practice of 24-hour care has to date largely been based on European women's movements to Switzerland and that care workers' movements have to date taken the form of variously sized circles.

Institutions and scientific studies have discussed this form of mobility as 'Pendelmigration'[38] (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b; Strüver, 2011, 2013). This German term roughly translates as "commuting migration" but comes closest to the English term 'circular migration' (Triandafyllidou, 2010, 2013; Wickramasekara, 2011). Circular migration is a specific form of 'temporary migration' (European Migration Network, 2011) since it regards patterns of cross-border mobility which exhibit characteristics of commuting. Relevant bodies of literature refer to 'Pendelmigration' and 'circular migration' in order to conceptually grasp this specific mobility pattern. Swiss scholarship has also used other terms to describe this particular form of mobility. In particular 'Care-Migration' (Truong, 2015; Van Holten et al., 2013) and 'Wanderarbeit' (Schilliger, 2014, p. 257). The term 'Care-Migration' addresses the "purpose" of workers' movements; cross-border mobility for the purpose of providing care. The second term translates simply to migrant work in English. However, it goes beyond this translation since it contains the German notion of *wandern*, which refers to notions of roaming and rambling, and is semantically not very far from its English relative "to wander".

[38] *Pendelmigration* includes "to commute"; it refers to the regular to-ing and fro-ing of cross-border commuting.

In academic discussions of women's movements to Switzerland for the purpose of providing live-in care to the elderly, there has been much reference to the "transnational" outset, organisation, and effects of these movements. The notion "transnational" is applied to many aspect of live-in care, including the work/service, the care agencies, and the migration (Scheiwe & Krawietz, 2010; Schwiter et al., 2014; Van Holten et al., 2013). It is also applied in the context of care workers' so-called life realities or lifestyles. Schilliger (2014, p. 257) observes that many live-in care workers have large, extended transnational networks.[39] These networks regard both care workers' professional contacts with agents, recruiters, agencies, workers, and so forth, as well as their familial relations which increasingly span across national borders. The latter refers to the caring responsibilities which live-in care workers have towards their children at school, partners, social networks or larger families, and elderly relatives. Since internationally mobile care workers thus engage in work at more than one household in more than one country, Karakayali (2009) has discussed these emerging practices in terms of 'transnational house-keeping'.[40] However, the purpose of discussing a number of aspects of live-in care in terms of "transnational" is not always clear. For example, women's plural paid and unpaid caring responsibilities have been discussed as 'being a housewife in two countries' and conceptualised as a 'transnational household'[41] (Haidinger, 2013, p. 1). The issue here is that "transnational" implies (non-unidirectional) notions of beyond the state (Pratt & Yeoh, 2003) while in practice the majority of care workers relates and/or moves to and fro only a specific number of countries–generally two countries. While the above quote recognises this, it is not clear whether it refers to the engagement of two households only as "transnational" or whether it refers to workers' experiences of a 'life *in-between* here and there'[42] (Schilliger, 2014, p. 293; stress added).

In the context of the re-negotiation of European cooperation and with reference to the complex legal status of 24-hour care, there have been considerable efforts to generate knowledge that clarifies some of the political and legal issues in the practice of live-in care. Studies have investigated the general legal framework of live-in care; the ways in which 24-hour care services can be legally qualified/categorised in this framework in order to regulate the field; as well as

[39] Original, 'weit verzweigte transnationale Netzwerke'.
[40] Original, 'Transnational Haushalten'.
[41] Original, 'Hausfrau für zwei Länder sein: Zur Reproduktion des transnationalen Haushalts'.
[42] Original, 'das Leben zwischen hier und dort'.

how this regulation can and should look like (Eggenberger, 2013; Medici, 2011; Regierungsrat Kanton Schwyz, 2016; Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b).

2.3.4. Care workers' perspectives

A debate of considerable importance and size in the literature has explored care workers' perspectives on live-in care. It focuses on how care workers experience, understand, and engage with live-in care work.

Care workers' experiences of live-in care have been reported to be manifold and complex (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 203-239, 276-287). This is because individual women's quotidian experiences of live-in care are as manifold as care relationships are unique. We can see this on an online platform for live-in care workers (Care-Info, 2014) where two care workers give an insight in their different daily routines. One worker takes care of a lady who suffers from dementia; she reports of her efforts to engage her caree and of the work she does in the household for the caree and her husband. The second worker takes care of an elderly person who requires a lot of attention; she reports of her caree's changing needs and how she for example gets up three times a night to fulfil them. While some live-in care workers relate to their caree on a personal, familial level, others feel distanced and devalued by their carees/employers (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 201, 214-205). Research paper four explores women's experiences in relation to their participation and feelings of belonging while working as live-in care-givers in Switzerland. Scholarship has also discussed workers' experiences against the backdrop of larger socio-cultural issues including questions of gender and familial organisation. For example, Van Holten et al. (2013, p. 17) have discussed how live-in carers negotiate notions and roles of 'employee', 'family member' and 'family substitute'.[43]

As care workers' experiences are influenced by a number of organisational and personal circumstances, care workers also understand their work in different ways. Schilliger (2014, pp. 203, 229) reports that some care workers understand live-in care as a second career or as temporary arrangement–which is however often renewed time and again. Other care workers point out the complexity of live-in care. For example, Schilliger (2014, p. 236) reports that one care worker stated that, 'It is really difficult because I do not know if you can count the hours in this job. It's not a factory where … you work for eight or ten hour and in the evening you say,

[43] Original terms, 'Arbeitnehmerin', 'Familienangehörige', and 'Familienersatz'.

"bye" …'.[44] While the quoted care worker is aware that her hours are highly irregular, she expresses a struggle around how to come to terms with this awareness in her job as a live-in carer. In so doing, she illustrates the complexity of workers' understandings of their work and/or employment. Another care worker addresses this struggle in pointing out both the considerable strain that she has experienced in taking care of elderly people and her dependency on the job (ibid., p. 225). Research paper three discusses how women advertising their services articulate understandings of live-in care on the online market platform *betreut-ch*.

In reporting workers' experiences of live-in care, scholarship has visbilised crucial issues with conditions of work in 24-hour care (Schilliger, 2015; Truong, 2015). At the same time, reports on workers' understandings of their work give insight into a highly contemporary issue. In so doing, they also contribute much needed knowledge to current political debates about what elder care should look like (Denknetz & VPOD, 2013; Greuter & Schilliger, 2010).

Care workers however also express and directly communicate their quotidian experiences. For example, they have used the media in order to raise awareness of working conditions in live-in care (Nittnaus, 2013). Some workers have also formed a group called *Respekt.* The group works closely together with members of the public union VPOD and academics (Respekt@VPOD, 2016). While only a few live-in care workers have made their perspectives public, their contribution has nevertheless been of considerable political stake. For example, the lawsuit mentioned in the introduction was filed with the support of the group and union members (Respekt@VPOD, 2015). As research paper three argues, the direct engagement of care workers through making public their perspectives is an important action as women thus claim their work. It is also important for women's visibility and thus political participation (see research paper four).

This chapter introduced the empirical field of 24-hour live-in care in Switzerland with a focus on its context, defining characteristics, and central discussions in the literature. The next chapter presents the thesis' theoretical framework and analytical perspective on 24-hour care.

[44] Original quote, 'Das ist wirklich schwierig, weil ich nicht weiss, ob man bei dieser Arbeit die Stunden zählen kann. Es ist ja keine Fabrik, wo ... du acht oder zehn Stunden arbeitest und am Abend sagst: Ciao ...'.

3. Theoretical framework and analytical perspective

> 'All work is gendered and all work is embodied.'
> (Morgan et al., 2005, p. 1)

This section introduces central debates that this thesis draws on, including geographical approaches to current re-configurations of care-giving and care work. It discusses the key concepts that the texts presented in this thesis engage and work with. Based on this discussion of the concepts that are of central significance to this thesis, I outline the general analytical perspective that I have cast on Swiss 24-hour care. It comes together in a framework that triangulates the notions of work, bodies and gender norms.

The texts presented in this thesis give reference to contemporary academic debates in feminist and gender scholarship, in particular feminist geography. Of particular relevance are discussions of care, work, and bodies in feminist and gender scholarship; feminist geographical literature on embodied care work and care chains; and feminist poststructuralist, new materialist understandings of discourse and practice.

Sprague (2005, p. 6) argues that a feminist approach is based on the kinds of questions researchers value the most, the analytical frames they tend to use to interpret findings, and the practices by which they communicate the results of research. In scientific practice, a strong focus and analytical interest in power relations can distinguish a feminist approach (Harding, 1991). Feminist geography is an approach in human geography which applies the theories, methods and critiques of feminism to the study of the human environment, society and geographical space (Rose, 1993). As I will elaborate in the methodology section, feminist new materialisms contribute inspirational approaches that span the longstanding gulf between theory and method, discourse and practice, as they critically think together key concepts such as work, life, and bodies (Fannin et al., 2014). Gender scholarship focuses on the social and political significance of gender as an ordering and structuring principle in everybody's daily lives (Shepherd, 2010, p. 13). As such, gender norms are an important topic, also in terms of power relations. For example, Butler's concept of the 'matrix of intelligibility' (Butler, 2007) speaks to the normative set of acts that a body is to perform in order to be "read correctly" according to the relevant sex-gender regime and gender norms. Since this daily regulation is always carried out mainly through the body, the concept of bodies is an important analytical notion for this thesis.

3.1. Theoretical framework: key concepts

3.1.1. Concepts of care and work

Care as solicitude

Care is a notion of decidedly broad conceptualisation and application (Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 639). While this affords much scope for political interventions (Care Revolution contributors, 2014; International Labour Organization, 2011), the notion's broadness complicates both meaningful scientific conceptualisation and the term's application across languages. In the English language, different notions of care-giving can be identified. For example, to care refers to a rather broad emotional investment, to care for articulates a more physical or material support, while to care about includes further visible and invisible inter-personal, emotional investments and activities. Cox (2013, p. 494) summarises this distinction thus, 'definitions of "care" encompass both a normative concept (to care about), seen as something good and often the basis for care ethics and also a practice (to care for)'. The term *Sorge* is used as the German counterpart to the broad notion of the English care. Within *Sorge*, it can be differentiated between care for oneself (*Selbst-Sorge*) and care work for others (Für-Sorge; Duden, 2014). Importantly, the first meanings of both care and *Sorge* relate to a broadly negative notion of grief: care as 'suffering of mind: grief, sorrow' (Merriam-Webster, 2014a) and 'worry' (Badgett & Folbre, 1999, p. 312), and *Sorge* as 'troubling thoughts' ('quälende Gedanken', Duden, 2014). Both etymologically and semantically then, care expresses states or feelings of lament or anxiety.

Recent uses of care have built on the term's positive meanings. These include notions of having an inclination, wish or fondness, and of solicitude about something/someone (Reich, 1995) Solicitude refers to feelings of concern, 'responsibility for or attention to safety and well-being' (Merriam-Webster, 2014a) of others. As such, this meaning is tied to the use of care as activities of 'charge, oversight and protection' (Etymonline, 2014). Since the conceptualisation of care as solicitude addresses the majority of notions just discussed in a comprehensible and politically useful way, this thesis works with this understanding of care.

Care (and) work: love and labour

> 'Liebe ist: nicht arbeiten müssen. Nur da sein.'
> *Tiere*, Elfriede Jelinek (2012, p. 17)[45]

The conceptualisation of care as solicitude is politically useful because it affords the possibility to foreground the care-giver and their efforts and investments in their solicitude for others. Definitional focus on their responsibility and concern makes both this investment in the work of care-giving visible. To emphasise this point, feminists have used the term care work–or *Sorge-Arbeit* in German (Auth, 2013). For Perrons (2010, p. 37), care work is comprised of 'the tasks of social reproduction and include childcare, elder care and some aspects of nursing and teaching'. The term care work has been useful in explorations of complex relationships and experiences of caring for and caring about. Moreover, it has the political motivation to approximate care-giving and work: care work is discussed as the field of intersection between love and labour. The love and labour terminology stems from sociologist Talcott Parsons' work on the sexual division of labour in the family unit (Parsons, 2007). Feminists' engagements with this concept indicate that the notion of the sexual division of labour has a continued influence in how life-sustaining activities around the household are understood and valued (c.f. recent scholarship on social reproduction: Teeple Hopkins, 2015). Indeed, the differentiation and valuation of activities according to spheres and the bodies who perform them are key notions in Western philosophy. Arendt (1958) infamously differentiated between three kinds of activities: labour, work and action (*Herstellen, Arbeiten* and *Handeln* in German). Labour, the hierarchically lowest activity in Arendt's conceptualisation, regards the ('mere') fulfilment of physical necessity in the household and is thus inherently tied to the body, indeed understood in terms of the body; work refers to the securing of humans' producible and useable material existence and material survival; while action as the hierarchically highest activity does not take place in the *oikos*–the private household; it is an activity of voiced political deeds in the public sphere. These notions are worth considering here because they illustrate both the rigidity and the complexity of the productive/reproductive dualism.

In this context, feminist discussions of care work have demonstrated that when looking at how care is de facto given, the lines between the often conceptually opposed notions of love and labour might blur. Abel and Nelson (1990, p. 4) argue that,

[45] Translation, 'Love is not having to work. Just being there.'

> 'caregiving is an activity encompassing both instrumental tasks and affective relations. … [Hence] caregivers are expected to provide love as well as labour, 'caring for' while 'caring about''.

That care-giving involves both the usually juxtaposed love (care) and labour (work) is a crucial point. However, some discussions have strongly emphasised the importance of emotional investment in care-giving. For example, Hochschild's (1983, p. 7) concept of 'emotional labor' and Graham's (1983) conceptualisation of 'caring as a labour of love' focus on the emotional and the love involved in care. This focus might become problematic for feminist interventions. Since the love-labour dualism has long naturalised women as emotional and intrinsically caring, the stress on the emotional character of care can lead to the perpetuation of both care being seen as an inherently emotional and an 'intrinsic' characteristic of women (Folbre, 1995). As Butler (in McDowell, 1997, p. 164) further argues that '… "naturalness" [is] constituted through discursively constrained performative acts …', it is important to closely consider characterisations of care. Research paper three treats this issue with a focus on their political outcomes which often include justification and continuation of the social and economic devaluation of care-giving.

In this context, some feminists sought to counter this problem through assuming a language of professionalism. Himmelweit (2007, p. 581) for example understands care as

> 'the provision of personal services to meet those physical and mental needs that allow a person to function at a socially determined acceptable level of capability, comfort and safety'.

It is worth noting that while Himmelweit's definition aptly points to the (inter-)personal nature of the act of care-giving, this definition clearly sees care-giving in rather end-product oriented, service economy terms. As Badgett and Folbre (1999, p. 312) write, 'care services' are 'provided'. The carer is completely absent from these definitions. In talking about care in strictly sanitised terms, this language of professionalism shifts attention away from the corporeal, i.e. the more physical, material aspects of care-giving. As Adams and Nelson (2009, p. 12) for example observe, that some of the manuals for nursing carers which they analysed never make any mention of the–ill, aging, leaky–bodies that need to be cared for. Instead the manuals talk of 'designing and completing quality assurance activities' (ibid.). In this sense, the effort to re-valuate care is accompanied by a discursive invisibilisation of the carer and their work. From a

feminist perspective, this invisibilisation might be problematic as it affects certain bodies in particular and articulates power asymmetries. In *Frames of War*, Butler (2009) poignantly illustrates the problematic at the heart of this issue; Butler's (ibid., p. viii) analysis of medial representations of contemporary armed conflict suggest that some lives are understood as 'livable', some as 'grievable', while the media discourse might frame other (lost) lives simply as neither. This analysis indicates the potential potency of discourses to make certain bodies and lives visible and value in a given socio-political context.

It is noteworthy that both the stress on the intrinsic, emotional naturalness of (the calling to) care and the language of professionalism share this erasure of the corporeal aspect of care. For in understanding care-giving as emanating from and being defined by the carer's 'intrinsic motive' and emotional investment (Adams & Nelson, 2009, p. 10; Folbre, 1995), both the care-giver's physical work and the cared-for's physical and health status are discreetly circumvented.

Elder care

The discursive erasure of the corporeal is a particularly debatable issue in the field of elder care. Elder care broadly refers to the giving of support to a person who, mainly due to their advanced age, requires assistance with their and daily life's chores and 'personal routines' (Bolton & Wibberley, 2014, p. 682). This means that care of the elderly often involves physical activities regarding carees' material upkeep (see Andersson, 2012; Weicht, 2010). As such, a care-giver might have to engage with an elderly's body in for example washing and clothing them. Wiles (2011, p. 573) here observes that elderly persons who receive care are thus often discussed as 'vulnerability' in the sense of 'fragility'. In the context of a recognition that both elder care and care workers' solicitude consists of a number of aspects, some feminists have sought to theoretically foreground elderly persons' perspectives in conceptualisations of (elder) care (ibid). This ties in with larger efforts to conceptualise care as a person-centred and inter-personal activity or relation that emerges out of a complex personal relationship (Himmelweit, 2007, p. 581).

In this context, Eaton (2005, p. 37) argues that it is this focus on the (inter-)personal that has made elder care 'difficult to measure and quantify'. In particular since elder care simultaneously 'takes place both inside and outside the formal market' (ibid), its continued framing of being an

activity that is predominantly carried out in the so-called private sphere of the home makes very difficult an adequate measurement of the extents and particulars of elder care. This problematic gets articulated in the debate about what activities count as medical care and what is non-medical assistance in the context of 24-hour elder care in Switzerland. Regulations very clearly distinguish between medical and non-medical care (Schwiter et al., 2014, p. 9): *Betreuung* is the designates non-medical assistance, help or support, while *Pflege* refers to medical care (similar to the French *soin*). However, in practice, elderly persons often require support that is directly related to their declining health, including checking the elderly person's heart rate and reminding them to take their pills regularly. As such, the technical distinction between *Pflege* and *Betreuung* becomes less clear-cut in practice. This shows that it is not only difficult to "measure" elder care but also difficult to enact strict definitions of what counts as elder care. Based on this discussion, the following passage explores key aspects of recent developments in the provision of care as discussed in relevant literature.

3.1.2. Geographies of re-configuring care

Care chains: inequalities, place and notions of difference

A central topic of feminist investigation has been the ways in which issues of mobility and place have come to matter in care relationships (Raghuram, 2012; Yeates, 2004; Yeoh & Ramdas, 2014). These debates originate in particular from contributions by Hochschild (2000) and Salazar Parreñas (2001) who observed the increasing tying of care relations on a global level. Their work has founded interdisciplinary bodies of literature working on so-called care chains. As Hochschild elaborates, care chains refer to 'a series of personal links between people across the globe based on the paid or unpaid work of caring' (Hochschild, 2000, p. 1). Subsequent scholarship has explored the ways in which both paid and unpaid care is being re-drawn as increasingly global relationships and how these developments have affected experiences of care-giving, care-receiving, and notions of caring, parenting, and familial ties (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2012; Pratt, 2010). Recent literature on social reproduction has discussed these issues in terms of re-emerging inequalities in the possibilities and circumstances of care workers' individual social re-production (Kofman, 2012). This body of work ties into larger debates on gender, care, and migration (Hierofani, 2016).

In human geography there is sustained debate about the notion of difference (Kobayashi, 1997) and the subsequent complex inequalities that result from constructions of difference based on connections between gender, class, ethnicity in the context of women's trans-border movements (McDowell, 2008). Wigger et al.'s research addresses the problematic of difference in current re-configurations of care relationships in Switzerland. Their work explores asymmetric outcomes and power relations of what they (2014a, p. 82) call «Care»-Trends in Swiss private households. There are two aspects worth mentioning here. First, in a study of a variety of private care arrangements including childcare, household chores, and elder care, Wigger et al. (2014b, p. 2) maintain that 'while the trend towards paid care solutions boosts equality between men and women in terms of paid employment, it weakens equality regarding [the distribution of] care work'[46]. Wigger et al. (ibid., p. 7) furthermore observe that the paid outsourcing of care creates 'inequalities on the basis of class and origins' between those who are resourceful enough to purchase care and those who are not respectively who provide it. They (ibid.) conceptualise this difference in terms of 'care wealth' and 'care poverty'[47].

A central aspect in the literature on uneven access to care and/in the context of care chains concerns the interweaving of place and difference. Contemporary scholarship explores the construction of places and their differential valuation in the context of care chains and mobilities. A notable strand of literature focuses on the significance of borders (Strüver, 2002). In the context of a nascent and considerable political contestation of the European Union principles of a "Europe without borders" and people's freedom of movement across European national borders, these debates are of renewed and growing political stake. Critical geographical scholarship on places and borders has also pointed out the significance of narratives. In *Stories of the" Boring Border": The Dutch-German Borderscape in People's Minds*, Strüver (2005) illustrates the importance of people's perceptions of borders. It is in this context that research paper one explores notions of place, difference and inequality. It investigates how particular narratives are central in the mobilisation of the places associated with care workers as "different" in the Swiss discourse on 24-hour care.

The next passage explores the crucial notion of the market in current processes of paid re-configurations of care.

[46] Original, 'Der Trend zu bezahlten privaten Care-Lösungen stärkt zwar die Gleichstellung zwischen Männern und Frauen mit Blick auf die Erwerbsarbeit, schwächt diese aber mit Blick auf Betreuungs- und Versorgungsarbeit.'
[47] Original, 'Care-Reichtum', 'Care-Armut'.

Care and the market: the care economy, new care trends, care markets

In the context of paid care, feminist economists and geographers have hotly debated the ways in which paid care is being re-configured in relation to the market (Perrons, 2010). This is not least due to and as a response to mainstream economists' designation of care as outside of market relations (Folbre, 1995; Waring, 1990). The assumption that care constitutes the boundary to the market begs the question of the "nature" and conceptualisation of "the market". While paper three engages with this question in greater detail (in particular section 3.2), the following passage considers (approaches to) the notion of the market.

The term market is widely used within, across and beyond different academic disciplines, as well as in the media and everyday language. It is a term of bountiful meanings, conceptualisations and applications. The Oxford Dictionary (2014) defines the first meaning of "the market" as the gathering and exchange of 'provisions, livestock, and other commodities' and the second meaning as 'an area or arena in which commercial dealings are conducted'. Stressing notions of a concrete market place and of the exchange of goods, it only addresses notions of the so-called free market as the penultimate meaning in its listing. It is however this notion of the "free" and/or "self-regulating" market which is arguably most commonly understood by the sign of the market today. This notion has most effectively been articulated by 19th century liberal economic theory. In particular the writings of Adam Smith and David Ricardo have shaped the ways in which we have understood economic relations (for a feminist discussion, see also Cameron & Gibson-Graham, 2003, p. 147). Liberal economic theory's basic idea is that so-called forces of supply and demand constitute economic relations. It is claimed that the constant negotiation of what is produced and what demanded sets prices at their ideal point. In other words, "the free market" refers to 'an economic market or system in which prices are based on competition among private businesses and not controlled by a government' (Merriam-Webster, 2014b).

Labour geography critically investigates these received notions of "the market". Berndt and Boeckler (2009, p. 535) argue that while markets are fundamental to contemporary economic life, 'they have rarely been made an object of study'. Doing so makes possible a differentiation between practices and relations of exchange on the one hand, and theories or ideals of the Market on the other. To flesh this out, Berndt and Boeckler (ibid., p. 539) distinguish between 'abstract notions of the Market and concrete markets'. The importance of the distinction between idea(l) and process has also been illustrated by Brenner and Theodore (2002) who

analytically disentangled neoliberal ideology from "actually existing neoliberalism" as the context specific neoliberal instances and projects in particular times and places. However, while critical geography has both deconstructed the market as a singular notion and illustrated the plurality of economic possibilities beyond the imaginary of the free market economy (Gibson-Graham, 2008), received ideas of the market as singular, free and the inevitable form exchange remain. This becomes clear when we look at the ways in which feminist scholarship focuses on the outcomes of integrating care-giving in market-based relationships without conceptualising, challenging or de-constructing the notion of the market. This is notable giving the extensive feminist engagement with care and its relationship with "the" market (Gottfried, 2009; Held, 2002).

In the context of German-speaking Switzerland, feminist economist Madörin has dedicated large parts of her work to questions of care and the market. Madörin (2001, p. 41) understands 'the caring for others and the daily taking care of people' as 'care-economic activities'[48]. The totality of these divergent visible and invisibilised care-economic activities constitutes the 'Care Economy' (Madörin, 2001, p. 41). According to Madörin (2010), care-economic activities–not the financial and insurance industries–make up the largest sector of the economy as a whole. In other words, it is argued that it is in effect the culmination of private, public, third sector, formal, informal, visible, invisibilised, and partially visible care activities that forms the largest sector of economic activity in Switzerland (see also Soiland, 2013).

We see that feminist scholars not only use variant terminology but also conceptualise recent dynamics of care in the market differently. Madörin and Soiland (above) talk about 'the care-economy'. In German(y), Rothgang (2014) speaks of the emergence of a 'Pflegeökonomie'[49] as a sub-discipline of the 'Gesundheitsökonomie' (health economy). While in Switzerland, Wigger et al. (2014a, p. 82) discuss contemporary 'care trends'[50] in the private household and Truong et al. (2012, p. 5) observe the emergence of a 'young and dynamic market' in specifically 24-hour care service. In German-speaking Switzerland, private care agencies are key drivers of private 24-hour care. It is however difficult to grasp these agencies conceptually because of the diverse functions and roles they enact (see sub-section 2.2.2.). For the purpose of approaching a

[48] Original, 'das sich Kümmern um andere und die tägliche Versorgung von Menschen […] care-ökonomische Aktivitäten.'
[49] The term can be both translated to 'medical care economy' and 'care economy'.
[50] Original, '«Care»-Trends'.

conceptualisation of these intermediate bodies, the next passage discusses relevant conceptualisations and approaches to intermediary bodies in the literature.

Care agencies

In the context of economic integration and re-structuration on a global scale, growing bodies of literature engage with actors that make links between fields and people for money. Depending on the geographical context, these bodies of literature identify a range of different intermediary bodies and a number of key features of care agencies. Central conceptualisations include broker and brokerage, agency and agent, labour market intermediary, placement agency, and temporary staffing agency (Benner, 2003; Kern & Müller-Böker, 2015; Rodriguez, 2010). Brief consideration of two cases of relevance provides a context that might help us better understand Swiss care agencies. In Canada, Bakan and Stasiulis (1995, p. 304) conducted research on 'private domestic placement agencies that specialize in the recruitment and placing of migrant domestic workers into private family households' as part of the Live-in Caregiver Program. Already 20 years ago, they (ibid, pp. 304-305) found the domestic placement agency industry an 'extremely volatile' field, which was mostly due to the unstable number of agencies, the regional variation of agency licensing, and the overall modest regulatory mechanisms in place. This point of volatility has also been observed in Swiss 24-hour care in terms of a diverse agency landscape (Truong et al., 2012, p. ii). Second, in Germany, Scheiwe and Krawietz (2010) have conceptualised labour market intermediaries in the field of elder care as transnational organisations. In European private elder care, this stretches the concept of transnationalism because labour market intermediaries operate in a number of countries–not beyond the nation. At the same time, it is important to recognise agencies' multi- or pluri-lokal outset due to their legal and operational characteristics. As discussed in section two above, care agencies navigate and create fields of action in a legal field composed of divergent local, regional, national, inter- and trans-national frameworks as well as bi- and multi-lateral agreements. Taking into account section two and the relevant literature's discussions, this thesis understands care agencies as a heterogeneous set of private sector bodies that organise, arrange, and administer the employment of given workers in the private household.

Questions of pay: the commodification critique

Critical scholars have discussed the rise of privately organised individual care offered by non-public bodies (such as agencies) in relation to the concept of commodification (England & Henry, 2013, p. 558). Also in Swiss 24-hour elder care, the involvement of money and agencies in the arrangement of care for elderly people has led scholars to discuss 24-hour care services in relation to commodification (e.g.Schilliger, 2014, pp. 139-143). Since the questions that are discussed in relation to the concept of commodification are central in private 24-hour care, I investigate in research paper three the line of argument that the so-called integration of caring activities into market relations constitute a commodification of elder care. If we take Dickenson's (quoted in Phillips, 2013, p. 34) assertion that 'people own their actions', it could be argued that in selling care, it is effectively the care worker's actions that are commodified. However, Pateman (quoted in Phillips, 2013, p. 35) argues that it is a 'political fiction … that capacities can be treated as separable from the person'. These two conflicting assertions illustrate the fundamental complexity of the issue at hand. In stressing the inalienability of people and their capacities–including the capacity to care–Pateman builds on Marxist discussions of labour alienation which understand commodification as the process of abstracting an activity from the social relations that constitute both work and worker with the purpose of obtaining surplus value from this activity (c.f. Badgett & Folbre, 1999, p. 313). So if we see capacities and work as embodied and inalienable from the person, it is not the care workers' activities but the care workers themselves who are at the heart of commodification processes. The effects of dualistic notions of work (see love/labour above) further complicate this issue. They devalue care-giving as "intrinsic" and "natural" motivations of women to care, and ultimately justify no or little recognition and remuneration for the care work the care-giver perform as part of larger structures that undervalue women's work (Grimshaw & Rubery, 2007). This shows that the ways in which care work is organised, remunerated, and valued in the context of private sector logics beg a number of complex questions. As the discussion here indicates, it is not clear in how far the application of the concept of commodification to the context of care provides a direct answer to these highly complex questions, I discuss in research paper three the limitations of the concept for feminist analyses of paid care.

Following this discussion of care work and pay, the next sub-section treats notions of work, gender, bodies, and norms.

3.1.3. Work, bodies, gender norms

Work: etymologies and conceptualisations

Work is a topic of both highest political relevance and underlying social significance (McDowell, 2009, p. 3). Work has been on the top of policy agendas time and again; currently, the aim of Sustainable Development Goal 8 is to '*Promote … decent work for all*' (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). This internationally proclaimed goal is articulated in a context in which historical understandings of work as 'toil' and the subsequent devaluation of work have facilitated sustained inequalities in work. To understand current debates about work and specifically the complex struggle around the meaning and organisation of Swiss 24-hour care, it is essential to explore the conceptual history of work and its political aspects.

In the linguistic contexts relevant to this study, the etymologies of the notion of work are dominated by connotations of toil, exertion, and suffering. The German term *Arbeit* derives from the Middle High German *arebeit*, which refers to *Mühe, Beschwernis, Leiden* (toil, tribulation, suffering; from Old High German *arabeit(i)* of the same meaning: *Mühsal* (tribulation/hard toil)). The contemporary English *work* has two Old English roots: *wyrcan* and *wircan*. *Wyrcan* had the meaning to prepare, perform, do, make, construct, produce, or strive after; and *wircan* meant to operate, function, set in motion (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, 2003b). *Wircan* is a secondary verb formed from the Proto-Germanic noun *werkan,* which also reflects in still customary German notions of *werken* and *das Werk* (the verb means to work with the hands/handicarafts, to keep busy; and the noun refers to plant/factory, work, opus/oeuvre).

The second term of importance in contemporary English language is labour. Introduced into the English language with the meaning of task, it acquired in the late 14th century the meaning of exertion of the body; trouble, difficulty, and hardship. Labour stems from the Old French word *labor* (toil, work, exertion, task; tribulation, suffering), which in turn derives from the Latin term *labor*, which refers to toil, exertion; hardship, pain, fatigue; a work or product of labour (The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology, 2003a). Here it is worth mentioning that the contemporary French term for work, *travailler, le travail*, stems from the popular Latin term *tripaliare* (to torment, torture) which derives from the torture instrument

trepalium. In English, this root is reflected in the noun tribulation (suffering, grief). In this sense, the only decisively positive connotations in etymologies of the notion of work can be found in the Old English roots of work. In contemporary German, it can be found in the Swiss-German common designation of to work as *schaffen* (to create). The predominantly negative etymologies, meanings, and connotations of the notion of work have been important in two ways. First, they are reflected in historical understandings of work and second in the conditions of work that led to considerable political struggle around work on the onset of modernity and beyond.

Concerning historical understandings of work, we can observe that both in feudal and class-structured societies, wealth and power were not directly linked to one's own work or labour; influence and land were exerted and belonged not to the so-called working classes but to the so-called leisure class (Veblen, 2009). The ownership of and control over private property allowed the ruling classes to lead a life of leisure. The literature has also discussed the ideology of this lifestyle of leisure as *vita contemplativa*, or the life of contemplation (Arendt, 1960, p. 12).
In *Leonce and Lena*, Georg Büchner (1971) addresses this particular understanding of work. Prince Leonce abandons himself in idleness and indolence, a life of as he calls it 'dolce far niente … [and] dear ennui' (ibid.1971, p. 80).[51] His companion Valerio declares that 'no welts disfigure my hands; the earth has drunk no sweat from my brow.' (ibid., p. 77). This quote is to illustrate how in this particular historical context, the powerful devalued being active (working) and described the production of goods (labour) as the task of certain groups. Arendt (1960, p. 310) cites here a dictum which also illustrates this hierarchical devaluation of any form of activity, 'Vita contemplativa simpliciter melior est quam vita activa'–a life of contemplation is simply better than a life of work.
In political terms, the hierarchical devaluation of work and labour has contributed to represent and perpetuate social differentiation and hierarchies. It also effectuated and legitimated inadequate conditions of work, in particular as processes of industrialisation and capitalist ideologies of accumulation increasingly shaped the context of work, its organisation and conditions (Marx, 1996).

[51] Translation, 'sweet doing nothing … [and] dear ennui [boredom]'.

In and against this context, work has been claimed and re-articulated in several ways. In the Eurocentric context, understandings of work as clean(s)ing and exculpating redemption mark an important, if highly problematic, historical counter-ideology to understandings of work as toil or torture (for an extensive phenomenology of work, see Kovacs, 1986). Of significance here is the Protestant work ethic (Weber, 1986, pp. 182-186). It articulates work as an end in itself in combination with arguments of its purifying effects on body and mind, and its benefits for society at large (ibid, pp. 184-185). Friedrich Nietzsche gives a critical account of the ways in which religious notions are used in a modern politico-moral project to portray work as a 'blessing'[52] (Nietzsche, 1964, aphorism 173). In a contemporary analysis of elder care, Fejes and Nicoll (2010) investigate how protestant understandings of work reflect in notions of 'calling' in contemporary care; they argue that with the emergence of Protestantism, 'work itself came to be a divine vocation' (2010, p. 359). In the 20th century, these understandings have however also been radically co-opted and glorified in Fascist abuses of power and crimes against humanity (Otto & Sünker, 1989; Passerini, 1979; Siegel, 2013).

After the Second World War, understandings of work in the Global North have increasingly been cemented as salaried service sector employment, and coupled with individualistic notions of productivity, social status, achievement, wealth, and self-realisation. In this context, geographical scholarship on care work has also explored the ways in which employment and work affect the formation of identity and subjectivity (see McDowell, 1999; McDowell, 2009, p. 14; Truong, 2011). Research paper two explores the ways in which embodied subjectivities come into being (materialise); in particular, it explores how the subject 24-hour care worker materialises through the reiterative performances of caring, working, and moving in the context of Swiss live-in care.

I now briefly consider relevant engagements with and definitions of work and labour in later Western philosophical discourse since they have shaped the ways in which dominant scholarship grasps work today. In the political philosophy of Enlightenment, John Locke (1690 [1689], p. section 27) differentiates between 'the labour of our body and the work of our hands'. Arendt (1958) re-articulates this distinction in *The Human Condition* (originally Vita Activa oder Vom

[52] Original, 'Segen'.

tätigen Leben: Arendt, 1960). Arendt (1958, pp. 79, 136) defines *labour*[53] as regarding the basic fulfilment of physical necessity in the household, while *work* is conceptualised as the securing of humanity's producible and useable material existence (production). Philosophical engagement with the notion of work also shows the historical re-valuation of and stress on human activity/productivity. In political and philosophical theories of human nature, the notion of the *homo faber* (the creative human being) and the *animal laborans* (the working living being) represent noteworthy examples of how humanity has been increasingly discussed and defined in terms of their creative and active capacities (Arendt, 1960, pp. 141, 122).[54]

We see that central works of Western thought distinguish between and conceptualise activities in ever so slightly different ways while at the same time discussing human beings in relation to their creative capacities. This illustrates (a) the centrality of the definitional struggle of the notion of work and (b) the significant cultural and historical contingence of conceptualisations, understandings, and applications of given terminology. In other words, as to what is understood as predominantly physical (somatic, bodily) activities in the waged production of goods and which terms refer to a broader notion of productive activity varies considerably depending on both context and theoretical, scientific approach (England & Lawson, 2005, p. 78).

Giving an account of the ways in which understandings of the notion of work change over time and space, Klahr (1999, p. 297) recounts from a feminist geographical perspective how understandings of work in the Global North have in recent decades moved from formal employment undertaken by men outside the private sphere to comprise also unpaid work undertaken by women in the household. These understandings disentangle the concept of work from gendered constructions that tie work to a particular sphere and the payment of a salary; instead they include activities across distinctions of paid and unpaid, formal and informal, domestic and non-domestic (England & Lawson, 2005, pp. 80-82, 78). In this re-articulation of the concept of work, feminist geographers have paid particular attention to how the spatial unevenness and division of work, employment, and labour effects women and their daily experiences of work (Hanson & Pratt, 1988; Massey, 1984).

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[53] Arendt translates to labour to "herstellen" and "werken"; and to work as "arbeiten"; the triad's third form of activity is action, which refers to "politischem Handeln" in German.

[54] Relevant alternative visions of human nature include Aristotle's *zóon politikon* which describes human beings as social living beings and the *homo oeconomicus* of neo-classical economics and game theory which casts humans beings as rational agents.

In contemporary feminist literature on paid care, it is often the case that both the concepts of work and labour are applied (Dyer et al., 2008). This is because individual scholars employ the terms work and labour as reflections of both theoretical considerations and scientific-political perspectives (Anderson, 2002). The majority of scholars who apply both work and labour do so in order to distinguish between the employment and the worker on the one hand and the worker's so-called labour power on the other (England & Dyck, 2012; England & Henry, 2013). Thus in contemporary feminist scholarship, the concept of labour has been applied specifically in analyses of labour power and to address emerging labour markets and labour migration for the purpose of care work (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Ungerson, 2003). However, this conceptual and nominal distinction is slippery (Anderson, 2000). In this sense, it can be argued that in recent years, feminist scholars including feminist geographers have increasingly conducted integral investigations of paid care. We can see this integration of concepts in emerging literatures on domestic work and social reproduction with regards to conditions of work. For example, in their article 'Hyper-Precarious Lives: Migrants, Work and Forced Labour in the Global North', Lewis et al. (2015, p. 580) have examined 'the contested inter-connections between neoliberal work and welfare regimes, asylum and immigration controls, and the exploitation of migrant workers'. Here highly complex arrangements and problematic conditions of work are conceptually approached with a terminology of unfree, coerced and forced labour; precarity and hyper-precarity/precariousness (International Labour Organization, 2005; Lewis et al., 2015; Strauss, 2012; Strauss & Fudge, 2014). In their critical investigation of these phenomena, this emerging body of scholarship addresses fundamental issues and inequalities in contemporary re-configurations of care-giving which not only span across received notions of work and labour but also across national borders in times that witness national bordering with renewed force (FitzGerald, 2016; Scott, 2009).

In reference to these discussions, I conceptualise Swiss 24-hour elder care as care work. Based on feminist understandings of work as independent from sphere and payment/salary, my research articles explore central issues of 24-hour care work. My conceptualisation of 24-hour care as care work furthermore refers to the extensive feminist scholarship on work and gender norms, which the following passages further elaborates.

Work and gender norms

Writing about the economic outcomes of gender norms in care and work, Badgett and Folbre (1999, p. 311) argue that 'Gender norms govern[…] interpretations of appropriate behaviour for women and men' regarding caring responsibilities and in the field of work. Morgan et al. (2005, p. 4) elaborate here that 'Gender, as Connell reminds us, is partially shaped by the divisions of labour and asymmetrical power relationships, these most obviously also associated with an expanded understanding of work (Connell 1987)'. This quote illustrates the centrality of work and gender norms in feminist scholarship, and in particular the close relationship of understandings of work, gender, and relations of power. In practice, this translates into the above-mentioned issue of different spheres of work and the ways in which in particular women are to make sense of these bifurcated spheres. In her ground-breaking book *The Second Shift*, Hochschild (1989) investigated this issue, finding that, after a day of formal employment, women were often faced with an additional second shift of domestic and family work at home. This debate was later expanded into models of triple burden which refers to the juggling of waged work, care work, work on the self/body. Academic, popular and policy discourse increasingly frames this debate in terms of a so-called work-life balance (Berch, 1982; Dyer et al., 2011), for which individuals need to 'reconcile' their work commitments and caring responsibilities (OECD, 2003, 2007; 'vereinbaren' in German, Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft, 2004). Recent scholarship (Chant, 2006, pp. 14-15; Schilliger, 2009, p. 97) has discussed women's extensive working hours in terms of 'time poverty'. The notion of time poverty addresses the issue that the myriad of caring responsibilities and both paid and unpaid activities that women often assume and engage in translates to a full day that leaves little time to take care of themselves–for their *Selbst-Sorge*. In this sense, the concept speaks to and problematises the notion that formal emancipatory gains–notably the increase in women's engagement in paid employment–are relative and relational to valuables such as time for oneself (Schilliger, 2009).

A powerful expression of gendered norms around work worth considering here is the dualist opposition and the subsequent hierarchical valuation of so-called productive work and social reproduction (discussed above as labour and love). Referring to this issue, Rosie Cox addresses underlying points and developments in gendered norms of care: Cox (2013, p. 492) writes of a 'stubborn ideological association between home, care and family–particularly the ideal of mothers as carers for their families - even as marketisation remakes experiences of who cares and

where caring happens'. Explaining further the aspects of power in this field, Green and Lawson (2011, p. 642) argue that 'social science work and popular conceptualisations of care perpetuate a particular ontological engagement which situates care within a domain of gendered domesticity and/or in a subordinate relation to economy.' As such, Perrons (2010, p. 37) maintains that 'one of the clearest areas of gender segregation is carework'. In speaking of subordination and segregation, the scholars draw our attention to relations of power. Code (1995, p. 103) addresses the potency of these norms in her observation of the '… traditional relegation of women to socially powerless positions of care for everyone who is vulnerable except themselves'.

From a feminist perspective, the ways in which gendered norms are being re-articulated and re-configured is of central concern. This is because, as Lutz (2007b, p. 39)[55] points out, care work is an activity of considerable power in that it forms identities and contributes to the perpetuation of the societal gender order. In highly relevant research on current developments in care work in Germany, Lutz (2007a, pp. 224-227) observed an increasing prevalence of what she calls 'German career woman' with 'migrant care worker'[56] arrangement. Lutz (ibid) conceptualised this particular re-configuration of caring activities as a central aspect of 'doing ethnicity'. In other words, Lutz suggests that as mobile women increasingly take over domestic and care work, the re-organisation of this work takes place along the lines of what Lutz refers to as ethnicity.

This analysis refers to the ways in which categories such as ethnicity and mobility have entered the analysis of gender norms of work (Cox, 2010, p. 4). In this context, I critically explore in research paper one the re-imaginations of gendered norms of caring responsibilities in German-speaking Switzerland with a focus on the ways in which these are discussed and conceptualised.

Gender norms of work and care in Switzerland: change and continuity

Sarah Schilliger (2009, p. 99) identified two major related developments regarding gender norms and work in Switzerland: a (re-)privatisation of care work and a depoliticising 'economisation' of the way care work is organised and functions. In elder care, the first relates to a shift from public care homes to the private household and the second addresses the ways in

[55] Original, '…dass Familienarbeit (care work) eine ganz besonders vergeschlechtlichte Aktivität ist, die Identität stiftet und als eine Kernaktivität des Doing Gender die Geschlechterordnung der Gesellschaft instand hält.'
[56] Original, 'Karrierefrau' and 'migrantische Haushaltshilfe'.

which private sector businesses increasingly dominate the provision of care. These two developments have taken place against the backdrop of the three larger phenomena. First, while women have increased their formal participation in the labour force, they mainly engage in part-time employment (ibid, pp. 94-95) and/or interactive, personal (*personenbezogen*) service sector work (Madörin, 2010; McDowell, 2009). Second, the gendering of work has remained stable because women might increasingly be engaged in gainful employment (*Erwerbsarbeit*) but men do not necessarily do more care work (Schilliger, 2009, p. 95). And third, Schilliger (ibid, pp. 97-98) observes a blurring of clear lines between work and life spheres: as work is organised in increasingly flexible and informal ways, the formal distinction between work (time) and private (time) is being blurred. As the flexibilisation of working hours and the informalisation of employment steer towards a condition of continuous work (*Entgrenzung*), Schilliger argues that this blurring of work and private time is not necessarily beneficial for care-givers. In addition to a new politics of time as discussed in the previous passage, Schilliger (ibid, p. 103) maintains that the notion of work needs to be re-conceptualised in order to reflect that 'all work useful to society is work, not just wage work'[57].

As the final conceptual discussion before I summarise my analytical perspective, the next passage explores the notion of bodies and its salience for this thesis' purpose of conducting a power-sensitive feminist analysis of Swiss live-in care.

Bodies: concept of commonality for the analysis of power relations

In the Companion to Feminist Geography, Robyn Longhurst (2005, p. 237) writes that

> 'Bodies are conundrums, paradoxes, riddles that are impossible to solve. … They are referential and material … Everybody has a body (indeed, *is* a body) …. . Bodies exist *in* places; at the same time they *are* places ....'.

Longhurst's observations about bodies as paradoxes speak to the ways in which Western thought has both shunned and focused on 'the' body. As Code et al. (1988, p. 98) argue, modern philosophy has written out 'the' body and bodily experiences: 'Bodily experience … modern philosophy has shunned describing … '. Longhurst's analysis portrays bodies as paradoxical beings because she observes that they are simultaneously understood as two supposedly mutually exclusive things: for example, they are both referential and material. In this sense, Longhurst's

[57] Original, 'Jede gesellschaftlich nützliche Arbeit ist Arbeit, nicht nur die Lohnarbeit.'

point about everybody being a body illustrates the ways in which bodies as a positive notion can be analytically highly useful and productive. As everybody is a body, bodies are a democratic commonality. The recognition that the being of a body is something that everybody shares regardless of social differentiation is very powerful. In particular if we follow Phillips (2013, p. 37) and read bodies' aspect of commonality in terms of 'reciprocity'. Reciprocity goes beyond commonality, as it includes bodies' aspect of mutuality–of not only having something in common but sharing something. In this sense, bodies' commonality and reciprocity mark an ideal base for ethical research design. They are a methodological reminder of a fundamental shared embodied existence. We can see the usefulness of this reminder in its application in analyses of care. Care-giving is a bodily and embodied activity, not least because certain bodies give themselves for the upkeep of others' health. Since this circumstance easily puts them in a position of potential devaluation, the concept of bodies can offer crucial analytical sensitivity.

Feminist geographers have recognised the potential of the concept of bodies both in and beyond scholarship on work and care. In reference to the notion's epistemological and analytical value, Lilley (2002, p. 119) maintains that 'Feminist theorists have asserted the centrality of the body both to the production of knowledge, and the complex … relations between bodies, technologies, and subjectivities'. In her well-received book *Working Bodies*, McDowell (2009, pp. 10-11) argues in that 'the significance of embodiment–of working by hand and sweat of the body–has increased' in feminist scholarship on care, work, and embodied work. Finding merit in these approaches, I build on their uses of the notion of bodies, which do not understand bodies primarily in terms of their tangible, material form or existence. Both in research paper two–which explores Swiss 24-hour care from the analytical perspective of bodies–and in the general purpose of this thesis, the notion of bodies serves as an analytical approach, lens, and perspective on the field of live-in elder care. The bodies lens can afford two specific analytical advantages.

First, based on bodies' analytical sensitivity and the concept's notion of commonality, the bodies lens can think together central points in the field of elder care. Regarding the two fundamental aspects of bodies and work, recent scholarship has sought to bring them together in elaborating the notion of body work. Gimlin (2007, p. 353) understands body work as (i) the work performed on one's own body, (ii) paid labor carried out on the bodies of others, (iii) the management of embodied emotional experience and display, and (iv) the production or

modification of bodies through work. In the context of care-giving, the second definition is of potential interest. England and Dyck (2011) have applied the notion of body work in a study on long-term home care in Canada and conceptualised care as a form of body work. It allowed them to conceptually address not only the physicality of elder care but also to recognise the body as the site of the work and the range of vulnerabilities and possibilities for creative inter-action involved in it.

Furthermore, the bodies lens can point attention to the power relations which work through and constitute bodies, embodied activities and relations. Exploring questions of power in relation to young women's valuation and understanding of their bodies, Frost (2001, p. 44) observes that the 'differential exchange value and status of the body are of course both reflections of and demarcaters of the distribution of power in Western societies. In this quite obvious way power and the body are linked'. In referring to bodies' 'differential exchange value and status', Frost points to an aspect of importance in the analysis of 24-hour live in care: activities and aspects related to the body have long been powerfully devalued in Western thought based on dualist hierarchies of mind over body (see McEwan, 2002, pp. 90-92). Scientific focus on bodies can hence be understood to both visibilise embodied power relations and work against this devaluation of bodies. In this context, it is worth noting that scholars working with discourse-analytics have also investigated the intricate linkings of bodies and power. Explaining Michel Foucault's conceptualisations of relations and workings of power, Mottier illustrates the ways in which discourse-analytics has highlighted the bodily aspect of the workings of power in both modern and contemporary contexts. Mottier (2005, p. 259) writes,

> 'Citizens' bodies are central targets in pastoral [state] relations of care and discipline. This bodily aspect of modern power is expressed in Foucault's concept of 'bio power' (Foucault 1990). Bio-power includes, first, disciplinarization of the movements, capacities, and behaviours of individual bodies. Secondly, it refers to the regulation, of state policies, of the welfare, health, and education of the collective, national body (see also Sawicki, 1991, p. 67).'

Mottier's words are insightful because they illustrate the merit of directing one's analytical glance at bodies: it provides insight in the very physical existence of power relations. Looking with and through bodies can expose also underlying expressions of power. As Butler (1993, p. 251) observes, the often presumed fixity of bodies' 'materiality is the dissimulated effect of power'. This means that relations of power can be exposed in particular through studies of how

bodies come into being. Feminist geography has been a noteworthy discipline in this endeavour; England and Lawson (2005, p. 83) report, 'Feminist geographers are interested in … how different "bodies" are produced under distinct discursive regimes'. In reference to feminist geographical explorations of how the interaction of discourses and bodies engender certain embodied subjectivities, research paper two not only analytically approaches Swiss live-in care from the perspective of bodies but also explores this dynamic with regard to the materialisation of 24-hour carers.

Having discussed in detail the central concepts and notions that this thesis draws on and works with, the next passage summarises my analytical perspective.

3.2. Summary of analytical perspective: work, bodies, gender

> 'The embodied nature of work influences gendered constructions of spatial (and social) divisions of labour, and vice versa.' (England & Lawson, 2005, p. 83)

Based on the above theoretical and conceptual explorations, I approached the data with an analytical perspective that focuses on the interaction of the notions of work, bodies, and gender. I do so following Morgan et al.'s (2005, pp. 4-5) triangulation of the notions of work, bodies, and gender:

> 'Understandings of work (including the tendency to limit work to paid employment) are also shaped by gender as well as by embodied considerations. The three terms are like a maze of track, each one leading to and crossing the other from time to time and in different ways.'

Thinking together these three key concepts in the field of 24-hour elder care allows a more holistic analysis of interconnected issues that cannot easily or purposefully be disentangled. In particular, my analytical framework of work, bodies, and gender allows a satisfactory focus on (a) the power relations and the political implications of given discursive configurations regarding the ways in which the 'Bodies of Work' (Acker, 1997) in Swiss live-in care (the care workers) are discussed and hence on (b) the research questions in a very specific manner. I will explain in more detail the operationalisation of my analytical perspective in the following section.

4. Methodological framework and applied method

> 'How women are represented (constructed) in language is a particularly political act.'
> (Zalewski, 2000, p. 71)

This section presents the thesis' research design with a focus on (1) the methodological considerations in setting up this study and (2) the methods used in conducting the research.
I begin with a discussion of central epistemological parameters of the thesis' research design and of the overall methodological approach. Following a presentation of the specific methods applied in both the overall study the individual papers, I then give more detailed insight into the research design's operationalisation including the process of data collection and knowledge production. The section ends with a reflection on research design and execution, in particular on the epistemo-methodological implications of the particular ways in which the presented findings and knowledge were produced.

4.1. Formulating a research design

Based on the research questions' interest in the ways in which live-in care is articulated in the Swiss-German discourse, I consider a methodological approach based on discourse-theoretical analytics most suitable for this study. Discourse analytics provides ample space for thorough consideration of epistemological issues, while stressing analytical rigor and intensive theoretical and 'critical' engagement (Fairclough et al., 2011; Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008).

4.1.1. Feminist epistemological considerations in doing science

> '[Methodology] is a theory about knowledge, about who can know what and under what circumstances knowledge can be developed.'
> Sandra Harding (in Sprague, 2005, p. 5)

> 'There is, it seems to us,
> at best, only a limited value
> in the knowledge derived from experience. …
> And every moment is a new and shocking
> valuation of all we have been.'
> *East Locker*, T.S. Eliot (in Von Morstein, 1988, p. 53)

The thesis' methodological framework builds on key points elaborated by feminist methodology scholarship (Code, 1995; Code et al., 1988; Evans, 1997; Mies, 1983). This body of work puts a strong focus on ethical considerations in research design and its implementation, in particular on the workings and expressions of power relations in the entire process of knowledge production. As a fundamental tool in this project, feminist scholars have initiated a tradition of critical scientific self-reflexion upon in particular the questions *who is the knower and what is their positionality regarding the research?* (Harding, 1987; Smith, 1990).

The knower's subjectivity ("who is the I that knows?"), her possibility to know ("can she know?"), as well as the question "what can she know?" are longstanding questions treated in theoretical philosophy and logic. In modern science, the generally accepted answers to these questions are based on universalisable rationalism (Kant, 2011). In essence, rationalism suggests that when following the tenets of positivist empiricism, one arrives at truth. The dictum "*S knows that p"* (Code, 1993, p. 15) epitomises this. In particular feminists scholars of science have problematised this established axiom by asking "who is S" and "how does S know that p?" (Code, 1993; Smith, 1990:4). Feminists' concerns regard the fundamental issue of which and whose knowledge is in effect considered valid scientific knowledge (Hill Collins, 2000).

These praxes of critical re- and in-flection allow feminist methodologies to challenge rationalist tenets of positivism and the modernist axiom of the singular which is based on the idea that a value-free objectivist scientific method enables access to reality and therefore to truth (see Aristotle's understanding of truth and reality as isomorphic, Crivelli, 2004, p. 25). Feminist poststructuralist writings in particular seek to radically destabilise this absolute notion of scientific truth because, as Geraldine Pratt (1999, pp. 216-217) points out, even if we grant the possibility of some form of *"Erkenntnis*", the empiric of 'neutral' observation is not the only route towards knowledge. It represents only one perspective on sociality and lived experience. Indeed, the literal meaning of *historia* refers not to a neutral account of events but to the writing of one's own experience. Connell (1995, p. 69) sums up this argument in maintaining that

> 'as modern epistemology recognizes, there is no description without a standpoint'.

In this context, feminists have put a critical focus on their positions and perspectives on the research subject. Donna Haraway (in Rose, 2012a, p. 17) here argues that 'by thinking carefully about where we see from, 'we might become answerable for what we learn how to see''. Haraway links questions of accountability, power relations, location and positionality, voice and

representation to key epistemological questions regarding scientific observation, learning, and knowing. Haraway (1988) sums up this approach as 'situated knowledges' in which Haraway does not simply invite us to dispassionately *re*-flect upon one's subject position as a researcher measured in terms of (assigned) social categories or (ostensible) group membership. Haraway's appeal to think carefully about where we see from neither implies a given structuralist subject position, nor as such the idea of reflexivity as the possibility to step out of one's own shoes and momentarily assume the position of the neutral judge. As one possibility of actively thinking about where we see from, Haraway appropriated the notion of diffraction as a feminist research tool (for a brief overview of the notions of diffraction and situated knowledges, see Campbell, 2004). A term borrowed from the physical sciences, diffraction resonates with inflection and interference (Neely & Nguse, 2015; Wilson, 2009). Haraway (in Van der Tuin, 2014, p. 234) maintains that diffraction and 'interference patterns can make a difference in how meanings are made and lived'. The focus on meaning and its making render diffraction 'a useful thinking technology' (Lykke, 2012, p. 499), in particular for research that seeks to cut across disciplinary boundaries. It is worth working with diffraction in concert with reflexivity since both concepts share a theoretical commitment to scientific accountability in knowledge production. I operationalised the concept through conducting diffractive readings (Lykke, 2012) which considered different possible readings of my texts. This allowed me to see my writings from diffracted viewpoints, leading to a declination of their possible interpretations and re-presentations. Diffractive readings of one's own text are very important in particular when writing about sensitive topics including problematic working conditions, when re-representing stereotyping narratives about women and their work, and when problematising powerful norms. In this context, it is both essential that the difference between my words and the discourse's are clear to the reader and that I as the author am aware of the potential power and effect to my words. These can be considerable; for example, if I were to write that care workers come from different or other places (in a descriptive manner and without quotation marks), I would contribute to the weaving of the places associated with care workers in scripts of difference. Inflecting my gaze and diffracting my reading of my own words helped me to negotiate this issue.

4.1.2. Formulating a feminist research design

In focusing on the roles and meanings of the research's contextuality, and the researcher's situatedness, their partiality, and subjectivity (Code, 1993; Haraway, 1988; Simpson, 2002), feminist methodological scholarship opens up technical understandings of methodology which are predominantly concerned with universalised criteria regarding data collection, standardised observation and measurement techniques, selection and coding processes, as well as analytical strategies (Harding, 1991, p. 138; Sprague, 2005, p. 4). Strictly speaking, methodology refers to the science of methods. As such, the study of the research methods one uses implies what is often referred to as reflexivity on the research and knowledge-production process. In her critical-feminist work about methodology, Sprague (2005, p. 5) elaborates on this,

> 'Reflecting on methodology –on how we do what we do- opens up possibilities and exposes choices. It allows us to ask such questions as: Is the way we gather and interpret data consistent with what we believe about how knowledge is and should be created? What kind of assumptions about knowledge [production] underlie our standards for evaluating claims about how things are or what really happened? We can even pose questions rarely considered in relation to methodology, questions about how knowledge fits into the rest of social life: Whose questions are we asking? And to whom do we owe an answer? Thinking about methodology in this way puts the technical details into a *social and political context* and considers their consequences for people's lives. It gives us a space for critical reflection and for creativity.' (stress added)

Sprague illustrates (as Haraway's quote in Rose, 2012a, p. 17, above already indicated) how a thorough evaluation of one's methodological choices and research design in combination with critically taking into account the position one thinks from, opens up spaces of accountability and scientific validity (see also Harding, 1991; Latour, 1999, p. 23). Moreover, Sprague's quote very well illustrates the importance of reflexive contemplation on methodological choices. Of particular salience here is the social and political meaning of reflexivity that Sprague mentions. In Swiss live-in care, this on-going process of reflexivity upon important political context factors is applicable to current major political contestation, notably the acceptance of the 'stop mass immigration' initiative (Abberger et al., 2014).

4.1.3. Methodical choices, power relations & positionality in the process of knowledge production

The points elaborated by feminist methodologies recognise the scientific merit of giving theoretical voice and methodological space to the plurality and the complexity of social phenomena. As such, feminist methodologies offer a rich tool kit replete with concepts, approaches and methods suitable for application to critical geographical research. In particular, feminist geographers applied and developed further ideas regarding power relations and positionality in qualitative research methodology (Crang, 2003b; Nast, 1994; Rose, 1997; Staeheli & Lawson, 1995; Sultana, 2007; Sundberg, 2003). Their work has shown that operationalisation of feminist methodologies in terms of creative research design enables original scholarship that is valid across academic disciplines. Ultimately, this can contribute to the normalisation of alternative, non-positivist forms of knowledge production. The following passage discusses how I operationalised the points about the knower's subjectivity and positionality in this thesis.

Feminists' proposed contemplations and critical self-examination of the knowledge-producer are by now established practices in feminist research. While often "simply" portrayed as critical self-reflection upon the knowledge one produces as a researcher, it goes beyond a flat designation of what position I (choose to) inhabit or assume in relation to my field of study. For positionality is fundamentally interested in the implications of this assumed and potentially constantly changing (subject) position. As such, the diffusion of power in a particular research setting is at stake here. For positionality always takes place in relation and negotiation with its particular context, and is not a matter of claiming (assigned) membership to any given social or otherwise categories. In this sense, positionality not only extends but comes into being in relation to research participants and the texts/material used.

In order to reflect this, I have sought to make methodological choices that allow me to critically take into account my positionality and power relations in my field of study (McCorkel & Myers, 2003). With the feminist purpose not to actively reproduce power relations in my research (Hawkesworth, 2006, p. 4; Hesse-Biber, 2007), I put my analytical focus on the investigation of discursive articulations within and in the care market. Doing so has afforded two advantages. First, the sampling, choice of data and data collection method in the conducted critical discourse analysis affords the advantage of following the principles of situated

knowledges elaborated above (Haraway, 1988). In particular, the certain fixity of the website material allows for great analytical depth and interpretive validity, since the empirical data was not obtained through inter-personal contact or by aid of a devised research tool such as a questionnaire. Moreover, a focus on discursive articulations has allowed me to add to the existing literature, which have analysed Swiss live-in care from socio-empiricist, ethnographic and/or sociological vantage points: Wigger et al. (2014b) and Holten et al. (2013) for example specifically elaborated on the experiences of the cared-for and their families; Schilliger (2014) put the care-workers centre stage, while others (Schilling, 2012; Truong et al., 2012) explored the role of agencies. Overall, based on careful reflection upon my positionality in relation to the empirical case including one's strengths, weaknesses, and (political, scientific) goals have allowed me to devise a careful design and operationalisation of my research.

4.2. Method: discourse-theoretical analytics

4.2.1. Definitions and theoretical points

> 'Discourse is meant to capture the ways in which language limits what can be said. This is because language reflects commonly accepted ways of seeing, or frameworks for organizing social existence.' (Bacchi, 1999, p. 164)

Bacchi's words about the relationship of the word, structures of language, and social norms indicate the ways in which its dynamics culminate in normative practices about what is speakable, what can be uttered, and what is intelligible. Bacchi's quote is an important starting point for this thesis' methodical considerations because it addresses the ways in which one's words are not only re-presentative of but actively involved in the production of power relations, meanings, and subjectivities. In relation to the latter, often cited examples are (a) the productive act of the utterance 'I hereby pronounce you man and wife' (see Brodsky Lacour, 1992) and (b) Althusser's (2006) theory of interpellation, which holds that the very address or naming of somebody as for example a student or a citizen renders them students or citizens. Based on its potential to form subjectivities, the directed utterance of words is understood as a productive and powerful act (Carver, 2002, p. 51). It is in this sense that power relations and their discursive negotiation are at the core of the notion of discourse that this thesis refers to in its analyses.

In this context, scholars interested in discourse, notions of truth, and relations of power have often turned to the works of Foucault. This is because Foucault (1988, pp. 3-13) has elaborated a range of notions and analytical tools that address the relationship of power and knowledge, respectively the notion of truth. For example, Mottier (2005, p. 256) explains that discourse analysis inspired by the works of Foucault 'explores how specific discourses reproduce or transform relations of power as well as relations of meaning'. In order to do so, applied Foucauldian discourse analysis investigates the linguistic and written utterances of discursive practices with a focus on the construction and negotiation of meaning and/or the political valorisation of these meanings (Foucault, 1981). This means that struggle for truth and the negotiation of power is explored in embodied, everyday discursive practices with regards to the political potency and significance of large scale discourses (Foucault, 1971, 2013). Analysis of discursive practices allows the investigation of the political significance of discursive formations and the meanings they articulate. The focus on power relations makes discourse analysis a valuable tool for the exploration of politically sensitive fields like Swiss live-in care. In particular since the analytical focus on discursive practices illustrates that discourses are an integral, if complex, part of the practices of everyday life (Villa, 2010, p. 269). Based on this introduction, the next sub-section lays out in more detail the thesis' methodical considerations.

4.2.2. Discourse-theoretical analytics

This discussion about the relationship between the word/discourse and practice points to the theoretical engagement this form of discourse analysis requires. Discourse theorist Torfing discusses this in relation to Foucault's and Laclau and Mouffe's works on discourse(s), and what now is generally referred to as discourse analysis. Torfing (1999, p. 12) describes Foucault's theoretical analytic as 'a context-dependent, historical and non-objective framework for analysing discursive formations'. This definition is based on Torfing's (ibid.) observation that works on discourses or discourse analysis cannot be easily categorised as "either" theory "or" method, since particularly in the case of Laclau and Mouffe's later theories, they are 'neither a theory in the strict sense … nor a method in the strict sense'. For this reason, Torfing (ibid.) describes their theoretical propositions as '"discourse theory", which stands as an abbreviation of "discourse-theoretical analytics"'. These are important considerations in that they question a presumed bifurcation of theory and method, empirics and theorisation. In this sense the

theoretical work around the concepts of gender norms and understandings of work is an indispensable and inseparable part of the agency websites' discourse analysis.

This is notably due to the political commitment possible through theorising. To illustrate this point, Hearn (2012, p. 198) plays with the well-known feminist dictum 'the personal is political'; he argues,

> 'The personal is not only political; the personal is political is theoretical (Hearn 1992); the personal is political is theoretical is intimately linked to the activity of work in the broadest sense (Glucksmann 1995); and the personal/the work/the political is linked to the theoretical. All these affect, construct or *are* people/selves ...'.

Hearn here already critically questions and (re-)theorises gendered assumptions around the concept of work, with a clear focus on the power relations embedded in norms in the so-called personal, the political/public, and the theoretical. This indicates the importance of careful theoretical development.

Work and gender norms are two fundamental aspects of daily life. They are, however, also subject to change and re-articulation; in theory, paid care has the potential to question received ideas about care work including notions that all women should care for older family members, preferably unpaid, out of the goodness of their hearts. Given their social salience, it is very important to first investigate which particular understandings of work and gender norms are being articulated in the care market and then to theorise what these understandings might mean for long-standing conceptual debates. In short, new care arrangements and new markets require suitable theories and concepts for adequate analysis.

4.2.3. Merit of applying a discourse-theoretical analytics

> '[It is] discourse analysis' theoretical commitments which make it so productive for feminists – its problematizing of truth claims, its stress on the socially constructed nature of all knowledge, its rejection of the idea of the unified, coherent subject, and its attention to power as a local practice.' (Gill, 1995, p. 168)

The methodological strength of discourse-theoretical analytics lies in its possibility for methodical originality combined with a strong analytical focus on power as well as a theoretical orientation. In particular the consideration of language systems, discursive narratives, and power

relations are key for feminist scholarship. As Gill (1995, p. 166) maintains, 'feminists have always been interested in the connection between language and oppression. We have known for a long time that language is not a neutral, descriptive medium but is deeply implicated in the maintenance of power relations'.

As such, discourse analytics has been successfully applied in feminist geographies of segmented labour markets. For example, Pratt (1999, p. 215) argued that there is merit in exploring 'what poststructuralist theories of the subject and discourse analysis can bring to theories of labor market segregation, namely an understanding of how individuals come to understand and are limited in their occupational options'. In this sense, discourse analytics enables the methodical exploration of subjectivity as formed in the context of a given discourse. Pratt (ibid, p. 216) goes on to elaborate,

> 'Recognizing the complexity and specificity of these processes for different groups and in different places has led some (Hanson and Pratt 1995; Hiebert 1999; Peck 1996) to suggest that a lower or middle range of theory and a close attention to empirical detail may be more productive for understanding these processes. While this position helpfully highlights the contingency and variability of social and economic processes, I now think that it is also potentially misleading. This is because it can be interpreted as positing the social and cultural processes that lead to the marginalization of certain groups in the labor market as empirical rather than theoretical puzzles. The point is not only that empirical work is never theory free, but that hiving off the empirical from the theoretical might lead us to miss what a substantial body of contemporary cultural theory can offer to our understanding of labor markets'.

Arguing the case for drawing on cultural theories and discourse analytical approaches in the feminist economic geographical analyses of emerging (labour) markets in care, Pratt points to a central merit of discourse analytics: its effort to transcend the theory-method gulf. The following passage elaborates on the merit of this effort.

"Ni methode, ni approche"

As the above expression ('Neither method, neither approach' in English, see Torfing, 1999, p. 12) indicates, discourse-theoretical analytics is informed by the poststructural effort to transcend the theory-method distinction. One important advantage of this effort is that it affords discourse-theoretical analytics the potential to facilitate original research that is valid across

disciplinary boundaries. In terms of research design this means a focus on phenomena. In discourse analytics, processes, conditions and phenomena rather than subjectivated, identifiable agents are of interest. This is because for example the Foucauldian tradition does not see power as a property or possession, but instead holds that power circulates and that power relations express themselves in hegemonic utterances of knowledge and truth claims.

This is in contrast with positivistic, empiricist science and its 'epistemological paradigm that presumes the priority of the doer to the deed' (Butler, 2007, p. 202) as for example articulated in the (sociological, Bourdieuan) "praxeological" approach which puts its analytical focus on actors and their acts or practices. For a discussion of this approach in Swiss 24-hour care see Schilliger (2014, p. 31).

The next sub-section presents the ways in which I have operationalised my methodological and methodical considerations.

4.3. Implementation of research design

4.3.1. Collecting the data: body of data, types of data, and sample rationale

The implementation of my research design took place in the context of a young and volatile field. In private 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland, agencies appear, vanish again, change name, relocate, subcontract, outsource, split into different businesses, etc. While this means that for instance the presence and activity of a given care agency is of no linear or predictable character, there are, however, conceivable patterns and particular ways in which 24-hour care is discussed. My analysis has focused on these discursive practices.

So for the purpose of exploring these discursive practices, I actively observed the Swiss-German live-in discourse between September 2013 and September 2015. Key contributors to the discourse are care agency websites, scholarship on 24-hour care, and public and journalistic discussions of 24-hour care. I therefore sought to explore the ways in which care agencies, published scholarship, and the media talk about 24-hour care. Within my observation of the Swiss live-in care discourse, I focused on how care agencies articulate 24-hour care on their websites. Thus care agency's online articulations of 24-hour care on their websites constitute my primary empirical data. I collected the primary data in the following way:

I accessed the websites through keyword searches on the online search engines www.google.ch and www.duckduckgo.com. The keywords included *Betreuung, 24 Stunden Betreuung,*

Altenpflege, Altenbetreuung, Betreuungsagentur,[58] and *care agency*. In order to achieve systematic insights into agencies' discursive articulations, I gathered the primary data during three set periods of time: from 28 November 2014 to 4 December 2014, and throughout March and July 2015.

As part of my observation of the Swiss live-in discourse, I also gathered a range of material which I have used as secondary data in my three single-authored texts. This body of secondary data comprises evidence from scholastic, journalistic, and public discussions of Swiss 24-hour care. I collected this material between September 2013 and September 2015 by aid of online keyword and literature searches, without a particular sampling strategy. The secondary data contains material published during and prior to the period of enquiry. In reference to my focus on German-speaking Switzerland, the material consists predominantly of material in German. The research papers' respective methodology sections lay out the individual uses of the material.

In the two co-authored texts, we draw on a range of material. In addition to the above mentioned materials, research paper four also gives reference to interviews conducted by Huey Shy Chau and research paper five also includes French-speaking newspaper articles as collected by Isabelle Thurnherr for the purpose of her Master's dissertation (see also passage 4.3.5. for more detail on the papers' data sets and sampling methods).

4.3.2. Systematising and generating the primary data: 2-step coding in MAXQDA

After collecting the primary data, I extracted and saved the data offline. The field of Swiss live-in care is relatively changeable: agencies have been known to discontinue their services and websites are prone to be re-designed, re-formatted or archived. I therefore extracted the website data in various formats (screenshots, "entire website," "html," "text only," "all files") and then saved it with the help of different programmes including the data analysis programme MAXQDA.

After having extracted and saved the data, I systematised my findings. As a first step, I adjusted my data for inactive care agency websites and branches of franchise enterprises that follow the same corporate rhetoric. The body of my primary empirical data thus comprises the extensive online material of 38 agencies which had active websites during my three set times of data collection. The material includes 163 website screenshots and 93 html and text-only files. It furthermore contains a range of supportive material that agencies made available on their

[58] Translation of keywords, "assistance/non-medical care", "24-hour care", "elder care", "elder care", "care agency".

websites, including individual agencies' permits[59] and sample application forms for potential care workers. As a second step, I fed the material in the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis programme *MAXQDA.*

With the help of this programme, I organised the data according to recurring discursive patterns in a two-step process of coding. In the first step of coding, I loosely followed the typical format of care agency websites which generally consist of the categories 'what we offer', 'who takes care of you?', 'what is 24-hour care?', 'costs', 'services', and so forth. Therefore the coding and the primary organisation of the analysis followed the often very similar structure of the agency websites. Departing from these overarching discursive narratives, I proceeded with the more in-depth coding of the data. In the second step, I devised more specific codes including 'definition of 24-hour care', 'matters of time', 'slogans', 'alternative to home', etc., which I then assembled in groups. These more specific codes enabled me to analyse the themes and narratives that systematically recur in agencies' online articulations with a more specific focus on my research questions. The rationale for coding the material in two steps is based on feminist commitments to situated knowledges (Haraway, 1988): the first step of coding follows the discursive patterns and as such does not impose either the researcher's structuration or the research question's focus. The visual material was only analysed in a preliminary fashion because albeit I collected the websites' visual material based on a feminist epistemological conviction regarding both the importance of visual communication for the articulation and negotiation of 24-hour care, and the centrality of visuality in critical, feminist geographical research (Crang, 2003a; Rose, 2012a, 2012b), I ultimately did not make use of this material in the research papers presented or the purpose of this thesis.

4.3.3. Analysis and interpretation of discursive patterns and central narratives

I analysed and interpreted the material with the help of the computer-assisted qualitative data analysis programme *MAXQDA*. The material was analysed in three forms: screenshots, html files, and text-only files. Screenshots and html files show the website's composition and both the

[59] *Bewilligungen* in German. The permits include the following forms: 'Bewilligung zum grenzüberschreitenden Personalverleih' (permit for the cross-border placement of workers), 'Bewilligung zur privaten Arbeitsvermittlung' (permit for private arrangement of employment), 'Bewilligung zum Personalverleih' (permit for the placement of workers), 'Bewilligung zur privaten Auslandsvermittlung' (permit for private foreign country intermediation). All English translations are unofficial.

visual and textual contents of the websites, while extraction of text-only files facilitates coding and interpretation of the textual articulations (the websites' 'text').

I conducted the analysis from a feminist perspective that draws on central notions elaborated by discourse-theoretical analytics. This includes the recognition of discursive articulations as inseparable from practices. This endeavor drew inspiration from Arlie Hochschild's recent book *The Outsourced Self* (Hochschild, 2012). In a presentation of her findings, Hochschild (2013) shows how she used the representations on the websites of firms offering services such as childcare or dog-walking in order to understand what she calls the 'intimate self in market times' (Hochschild, 2012). As Hochschild provides a very engaging, timely, and insightful account of the intricate developments she analyses, I conducted my qualitative discourse analysis of care agency websites in reference to her work.

To do so, I employed the analytical lens of work, bodies, gender, as elaborated in section three. This perspective allows a critical vantage point that pays attention to power relations in the ways in which 24-hour is talked about. For example in my analysis of the term *Care-Migration* and the interpellation of live-in care workers as *Care-Migrantinnen* (female care migrants), the work, bodies, gender perspective allowed me to address issues of work (who works, moves to work, under what circumstances and in what conditions), issues of bodies (which bodies work and move, how are they talked about, how are they valued), and issues of gender (who takes care, who is understood to be (best) able to do so, based on what reasoning).

In the interpretation of the data, I looked at the process of 'constituting the meaning'[60] (Helfferich, 2005, p. 20) of 24-hour care. An exploration of the constitution of meaning involves a close analysis of how for example agencies discuss 24-hour care on their websites with regards to what aspects of 24-hour care they emphasise. The following overarching questions guided my analysis and interpretation of the data: *how do agencies, the media, and scholars discuss 24-hour care? What do their discussions of 24-hour care focus on?*

This focus on the constitution of meaning is important because it also opens up possibilities for critical reflection on the ways in which discussions of 24-hour care support certain truths about 24-hour care and live-in carers (Carver, 2002, p. 51). In this sense, a focus on the constitution of meaning involves (a) theoretical work on key concepts (for example, research papers one and two respectively explore notions of place in Swiss live-in care and the bodies that perform 24-

[60] Original, 'Konstitution von Sinn'

hour care), and (b) critical reflection on the ways in which knowledge has been produced about live-in care workers (for example paper one, two, and three's analyses of the interpellation *Care-Migrantin*, and paper three's analysis of the application of the concept of commodification to waged care). It is in this context that I have sought to implement the notion of diffraction in my work by considering potential differential readings of the ways in which I present my findings and write about Swiss live-in care.

This discussion of analysing 'the constitution of meaning' brings us to further methodological considerations regarding language.

4.3.4. Reflections on language: teasing out the meanings of meanings and doing conceptual work in more than one language

Methodologically, language is a crucial point in this thesis in two ways: first, the underlying–political–significance of language in discourse analytics, and second, the–political–implications of doing discourse analytics across languages.

First, discourse, the word and the significance of language more broadly. The discussion about the knowability and intentionality of any act or utterance above is also linked to the constraints of expression that any given language confronts its locutors with. Von Morstein (1988, p. 54) argues here that even though experiences are in her view completely one's "own", one's voice is only ever *nearly* one's own - 'presque [la] mienne' in Rilke's words (1924/25)[61]. One's voice is never really "one's own" since any expression in a given language is always in some way pre-structured and hence liminal (available and familiar vocabulary, grammatical and syntactic rules and formalities). These limits of (critical, of one's "own") expression in a given language are particularly pronounced when the given language is fundamentally structured along gendered lines (Cixous, 1975; Pusch, 1984). In German, for example, every noun and adjective requires to be accurately declined in one of the three grammatical genders (feminine, masculine, neutrum). "General" or "neutral" nominal categories or subject positions such as student/students (*Schüler*) are as a rule pronounced in the masculine form. This becomes significant in contexts such as feminised job sectors, since how the labour force and its related subject position are referred to is a politically important discursive framing. For whether for examples cleaners are framed as either (explicitly male) cleaners or (explicitly female) cleaners simultaneously opens and closes a number of doors. The importance of this issue becomes clear

[61] Translation, 'nearly mine' [my voice].

in paper one, two, and three's explorations of the public constructions of 'the female care migrant'[62].

This brings us to the second point: the political implications of conducting a discourse analysis across languages: the politics of translation. Since the discursive material is predominantly in German, containing in large parts Swiss German idioms and expressions, I paid close attention to the so-called politics of language and translation (Mottier, 2005; Spivak, 2012, p. 201) in the treatment and analysis of the empirical data as well as in the writing process of research papers three and one. Even though this is a complex endeavour, I sought to apply the politics of language approach in two ways. First, I applied it as part of a more general reflection on meanings including my translations of the data. Based on this, I worked closely on terms' and expressions' meanings, connotations and different possibilities of interpretation within and across language systems. I would like to consider two important examples here. First, the Swiss-German legal termini for different forms of employment services (in the field of work intermediation/organisation/brokerage) are worth considering here: *Arbeitsvermittlung* and *Arbeitsverleih*. Both are not easily translatable into academic English for a number of reasons. For one, there are different scientific approaches to "intermediation" in different geographical context, including placement (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1995), brokerage in terms of recruitment as part of the so-called migration industry (Kern & Müller-Böker, 2015), and temping/temporary staffing (Peck & Theodore, 2007). They reflect the differential understandings of the intermediation of employment services in the English language, which are further complicated by variant notions in the different English-speaking contexts. For example, the sentence 'Agencies mediate care workers' would generally not be comprehensible to a British but perhaps a U.S.- and/or Northern American audience. In order to be comprehensible to the former audience, *mediate* would have to be changed to *place*. Due to the generally differential notions (with)in English, it is not clear in how far these conceptualisations map onto Swiss-German understandings of *Arbeitsvermittlung* and *Personalverleih*. The first, *Arbeitsvermittlung*, can be translated as the arrangement of employment. The second term, *Personalverleih* includes the verb *verleihen*, which literally means *to rent out*. So the workers are understood to be 'rented out'. In this sense, *Personalverleih* comes closest to *temping*, *temporary staffing* (temporary work

[62] Original used in the discourse: 'Care-Migrantin'

as organised by temp agencies). In reference to the field, I discuss it as both *work placement* and *temporary staffing*.

The second example refers to the term *Herzlichkeit.* It is a central notion in both the agencies' and the larger discourse on live-in care and roughly translates to "heart-felt care". However, it is also a specific term whose meanings and connotations are firmly situated in its particular context of articulation. As such, it might not be obvious beyond German-speaking Switzerland. This is further complicated in efforts to convey the term's meaning in a different language, which is, additionally, the dominant language of academic writing. Writing about key narratives and discursive articulations in English proved challenging in my effort to provide a critical reading of the discourse in my texts. Doing so requires a re-presentation of the discursive expressions, a sufficient explanation of the context, an interpretation and presentation of the material that is true to content and makes sense in (takes the shape of) Anglo-Saxon academic writing, as well as a critical analysis that allows an original contribution to contemporary relevant feminist debates. In this sense, writing two texts in German strengthened the analytical potency of my work. It opened possibilities to explore my material in different ways and formulate arguments based on analyses of the material in German.

The following passage briefly maps methodological considerations and issues in co-authoring and co-publishing academic papers.

4.3.5. Co-authoring papers: methodological considerations

This thesis includes two co-authored texts, one in English and one in German. In co-authorship, not only different sets of data but also different methodological approaches, understandings and scientific practices met. I sought to approach this challenging endeavour of elaborating a common methodological framework through a consensus-based teamwork ethos that takes into account individual strengths and as such facilitates a division of tasks on all levels of writing and publishing a paper, including the joint outline and elaboration of the manuscripts.

The material for research paper five was collected by Isabelle Thurnherr for the purpose of her Master's dissertation on the Swiss media discourse on live-in care. The data spans journalistic publications between the years 2003-2013. The argumentation for the paper was elaborated by Dr Karin Schwiter and myself. It was published in German in a Swiss journal based on the desire to contribute to the local debate on live-in care.

Research paper four is based on a multi-sited ethnography. Our analysis combines narrative material from interviews that Huey Shy Chau conducted predominantly in 2014 with theoretical work on Henri Lefebvre's notion *droit à la ville* (right to the city) in order to present our case study of care workers' organising in Basel, Switzerland. The argumentation was first developed for a paper that was given at the IGU Gender & Geography Commission Conference 'Gendered Rights to the City: Intersections of Identity & Power' at the University of Milwaukee in March 2015. It was subsequently turned into a special issue paper for *Cities*, edited by Eleonore Kofman and Elena Vacchielli.

This chapter presented the thesis' key methodological considerations. The following chapter introduces the five research papers which are assembled in this thesis, and discusses how they complement each other.

5. Paper overview and synthesis

This chapter outlines the individual research papers with the purpose of illustrating their combined scientific merit.

5.1. Overview of research papers

This thesis consists of three single-authored papers and two co-authored papers. In the following passage, I outline the individual research papers. They are listed based on publication status and authorial contribution. I start by giving an insight into each paper's trajectory, including the writing and publication processes. This provides both transparency and a context for the reader of this thesis in order to better understand how the individual papers' topics, aims, and findings come together as one research project. I then outline each paper including key findings and main arguments.

Research paper 1: Places of difference; narratives of heart-felt warmth, ethnicisation, and female care-migrants in Swiss live-in care

Places of Difference was written based on a paper I gave at the annual conference of the American Association of Geographers in Chicago, USA, in April 2015. Following a substantial revision and refocusing, I submitted the manuscript to the journal *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography* on 11 December 2015. It was subjected to independent anonymous peer review by four international experts in the field. I received their comments and suggestions on the manuscript on 29 February 2016. I submitted the revised paper on 11 August 2016. The journal editor Prof Pamela Moss accepted the paper for publication in *Gender, Place & Culture* on 11 August 2016. The article was published online on 27 October 2016.

The journal article *Places of difference* explores how the larger discourse on live-in care in German-speaking Switzerland discusses issues of mobility, migration, and place. It does so through an analysis of three central narratives in the discourse on 24-hour care. These are (a) care agencies' 'warmth' discourse, (b) scholarship's uses of 'ethnicisation', and (c) public discussions of 'female care migrants'. Analysis of the narratives shows how care agencies ascribe care workers a particular 'heart-felt warmth' based on their so-called countries of origin. Scholarship's reference to processes of 'ethnicisation' in live-in care illustrates a similar focus on

care workers' characteristics, nation-states, and nationalities. At the same time, the public discussion of care workers as 'female care migrants' frames care workers' movements as a migration between discreet and distant places.
In the paper, I argue that the ways in which the three narratives emphasise the places associated with care workers position these places in terms of difference. From a feminist perspective, this focus on difference is of underlying significance for the perpetuation of fundamental inequities in live-in care. In particular, the discursive differentiation between nation-states serves to continually justify lower pay for workers associated with these 'other' places. As such, the article's analysis suggests that the discursive invocation of places of difference underlies the marked inequalities in Swiss live-in care**.**

Research paper 2: Caring, working, moving bodies: Subjektivierung und Körper in der Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung

(Translated title: *Caring, working, moving bodies: subjectivation and bodies in Swiss 24-hour care*)
Caring, working, moving bodies is a book section that I elaborated following an international call for contributions to a bi-lingual (French and German) book project entitled *Corps suisse(s), corps en Suisse*, edited by Dr Monica Aceti (Université de Fribourg), Prof Laurent Tissot (Université de Neuchâtel), and Prof Christophe Jaccoud (Université de Neuchâtel). On 7 July 2014, the book project's editorial board formally accepted my proposed contribution based on the abstract I had submitted on 1 May 2014. I delivered the first draft of *Caring, working, moving bodies* on 15 January 2015. After internal review by the editorial board as well as the editor for German-speaking contributions (Prof Laurent Tissot), the manuscript was accepted on 28 December 2015 on the condition of being reviewed before publication. The text was furthermore subjected to independent anonymous peer review by two international experts in the field. I received both the editors' feedback as well as the reviewers' comments on 2 February 2016. After submission of the revision on 15 June 2016, the manuscript was subjected to a second round of revisions. On 28 August 2016, I received the second set of reviews including a summary by Prof Jaccoud. After undertaking these minor revisions (clarifications and formatting issues), I resubmitted the manuscript's second revision on 12 September 2016.

The book chapter *Caring, working, moving bodies* explores power relations, processes of subjectivation, and bodies in Swiss 24-hour care. In particular, it does so through exploring live-

in carers' processes of materialisation. Following Butlers understanding of materialisation as the coming into being of bodies through constant reiteration of certain performances (reiterative performances), and drawing on concepts including Foucault's understanding of subjectivation through objectivation, the chapter discusses from a feminist perspective the ways in which the context of work and migration policy, as well as care agencies' and public-medial discussions frame the reiterative performances through which the subjectivity "24-hour carer" comes into being–materialises. These reiterative performances are the acts of daily (a) caring, (b) working, and (c) regular moving. The analysis developed in the text suggests that these three reiterative performances contribute to the materialisation of the embodied subjectivity "24-hour carer". Based on this analysis, the text considers the possibility of formulating the notion of the "body-subject". The notion of the body-subject is to conceptually and nominally transcend dualist distinctions between the body and the subject (matter and mind). In formulating this concept, the text seeks to make a critical feminist contribution to interdisciplinary body-power debates, in particular in the field of feminist theorisations of the notion of the body.

Research paper 3: Care, pay, love: commodification and the spaces of live-in care

The journal article *Care, Pay, Love* was written based on a paper I gave at the Austrian Sociological Association's Section on Feminist Theory and Gender Study's 2015 Annual Conference entitled *Care! Feminism Confronts Capitalism* on 29 January 2015 in Linz, Austria. I submitted an extended version of the conference paper to the journal *Social & Cultural Geography* on 16 July 2015. It was subjected to independent anonymous peer review. On 7 October 2015, I received comments by three international expert scholars in the field as well as a summary feedback by the editor, Dr Robert Wilton. Based on the reviewers' suggestions, I substantially re-wrote the article and subsequently submitted the revised article on 26 April 2016. I received the second set of reviews on 1 September 2016 and submitted the revised manuscript on 30 November 2016. On 3 February I was asked to conduct a third round of revisions, which I submitted on 6 March. On 8 March, Dr Wilton accepted the paper for publication in *Social & Cultural Geography.*

The notion of commodification is an established conceptual tool in feminist scholarship that investigates the ways in which bodies and body-related activities are commodified and/or embroiled within markets. The journal article *Care, Pay, Love* investigates the question whether

the 'integration' of caring activities into market relations constitutes a commodification of care, and whether the application of the concept of commodification to the context of care serves a feminist purpose. Commodification is used to address problematic ways and outcomes of embroiling care within market relations. Strictly speaking, the premise of commodification is a transformation from non-market to commodity form (in the market). Per *definitionem*, a value or activity can only be commodified if it was previously understood in predominantly non-commodity terms. In other words, elder care can only be commodified if taking care of the elderly is thought of in terms of something obviously done out of 'love' or familial duty.

As feminist scholarship discusses the ways in which care is embroiled in market-based relations and the subsequent negative impact on the intrinsic character and quality of care, the article considers the potential implications for feminist interventions of oppositional notions resounding in the concept's application to care. The article's endeavour is based on theoretical work on uses of commodification and discourse analytical research on live-in care in Switzerland. My theoretical work on the concept of commodification suggests that the notion of a process in which something becomes a tradable good rests on oppositional assumptions including the shift from non-market to market. In order to assess the significance of these underlying oppositional notions, the paper refers to discourse analytical research on live-in care in Switzerland. My research on 24-hour care suggests a complex re-articulation and re-valorisation of assumed boundaries between unpaid caregiving and waged care, and market and private spheres. For example, it shows that in claiming rather than distancing themselves from their work of 24-hour care, live-in care-givers they complicate the assumption that paying for care corrupts caregiving or turns it into a product for sale. Based on these findings, the paper proposes that a careful use of the concept of commodification might best serve feminist interventions.

Research paper 4: Short-term circular migration and gendered negotiation of the right to the city: The case of migrant live-in care workers in Basel, Switzerland

Research paper 4 was first given as a conference paper at the *Gendered Right to the City* Conference at the University of Milwaukee, USA, in January 2015. Together with Dr Karin Schwiter and Huey Shy Chau, it was then turned into a journal paper for the *Cities: The International Journal of Urban Policy and Planning* special issue entitled *Gendered Right to the City*. The paper was elaborated in equal co-authorship with Dr Karin Schwiter and Huey Shy

Chau. In this equal co-authorship, we divided tasks in equal measure. My particular purview was writing the paper's theoretical elaborations with regard to its conceptual contribution to the *Right to the City* debate (introduction, section one and end of the paper).
The drafted journal paper was submitted to the special issue editors Prof Eleonore Kofman and Dr Elena Vacchelli on 17 January 2016 and subsequently proofread by language editor Anne Zimmermann. After revising the manuscript based on Prof Kofman and Dr Vacchelli's first internal revision, we resubmitted the text to the special issue editors on 27 March 2016. We revised it again after a second and third round of internal revisions (4 April and 1 May 2016). It was submitted to the journal on 27 May 2016. After receiving expert reviews on 10 December 2016, we submitted the revised manuscript to *Cities* on 20 January 2017.

The special issue paper *Short-term circular migration and gendered negotiations of the right to the city* illustrates very directly my interest in power relations and the political implications of Swiss live-in care. In the paper, we explore these issues with a focus on live-in elder care workers' organising in Basel. Working with Henri Lefebvre's notion of *le droit à la ville* (the right to the city), the article critically investigates the extent to which circularly migrating women can negotiate their *right to the city* during the period they work as private 24-hour carers in Basel. It first discusses how the Swiss migration and labor regimes in this gendered field of work affect their rights, access, belonging, and participation in the city. The article then analyses two examples of how live-in care workers challenge existing regulations individually and collectively, and in so doing, instigate changes on the level of the city. With the aim of exploring possibilities of participation beyond formal recognition (residency and citizenship are typical forms of formal recognition), the paper critically reflects on the *right-to-the-city* debate's key concept of *inhabitance*. Focusing on women who - as circular migrants - only reside in Switzerland for a few weeks at a time and who - as live-in workers - are often isolated in private households, the paper argues that work arrangements and mobility are key aspects in inhabitants' negotiations of their *right to the city*.

Paper 5: Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung für ältere Menschen in den Schweizer Medien

(Translated title: 'On the construction of 24-hour care for the elderly in the Swiss media')
The research paper *Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung* was co-authored with Dr Karin Schwiter and Isabelle Thurnherr. Isabelle Thurnherr collected the data, initially for the purpose

of a Masters' degree study on the medial discourse on 24-hour care in Switzerland, which was completed in September 2014. Dr Karin Schwiter and I elaborated and wrote the journal article *Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung* collaboratively. This means that both decisions regarding the paper's outline and direction were taken collaboratively, some tasks were divided, while others where shared. My particular purviews and foci in this collaborative process comprised the state of the art (literature review, section 2 of the research paper) as well as the critical reflection of the notion of the "boom" (section 5.1 in the paper) and the home as the ideal care-space (section 5.2) in the discussion. The paper was written in German in order to contribute to the local academic and political debates about elder care and 24-hour care.
On 4 April 2016, we submitted the journal article to the Swiss Journal of Sociology. It was subsequently subjected to anonymous peer review. We received the comments by three international experts in the field on 13 June 2016. The manuscript was resubmitted to the journal on 8 September 2016. On 22 November 2016, the journal's editorial board communicated to us their acceptance of the paper with the condition of conducting some minor modifications before publication. On 11 January 2017, the article received its final acceptance. Publication is scheduled for early 2018.

The journal article *Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung* represents my strong interest in the ways in which 24-hour care is discussed. The paper focuses on the public-journalistic discourse and critically addresses dominant discursive narratives on live-in care. This endeavour is based on an analysis of the media coverage of 24-hour care in (German-speaking and Francophone) Switzerland between 2003 and 2013 from a Foucauldian perspective. Our discourse analysis found a marked increase in media attention. Its findings show that the dominant media discourse speaks of a booming market. In particular, it portrays agencies in a critical light, while discussing carer workers in terms of their exploitative working and living conditions and idealising care at the private household. Based on these findings, our discussion challenges the claim of a boom in 24-hour care services by reflecting upon the so-called blind spots of these discursive framings. Blind spots refer to the topics which are neglected in the medial debate on elder care. In particular, these are the negative aspects of home care and the neglected responsibility of the family as employers. In shedding light on the so-called blind spots of the medial discussions, our analysis allows us to contribute a critical perspective on the

powerful ways in which discursive narratives foreground certain aspects and issues of live-in care while neglecting others.

This brings us to the second part of this section; it focuses on how the five research papers cohere and make a combined contribution to relevant academic debates.

5.2. Synthesis of research papers

The five research papers presented in this thesis analyse the different ways in which 24-hour care has been discussed in German-speaking Switzerland. The papers come together in their exploration of key underlying issues of live-in care with regard to their theoretical significance. In order to do so, the papers' discussions and arguments are based on an analysis of the central narratives in the discourse including relevant medial and academic discussions.
The papers exhibit two overall foci in terms of content, which represent two central issues of live-in care: the discourses (that care) and the bodies that work. Sub-sections 5.2.1. and 5.2.2. summarise the papers' exploration of the significance of the discussion of live-in care work in relation to "heart-felt warmth" and of care workers in terms of "female care migrants".
Based on this engagement, the thesis makes two specific contributions (sub-sections 5.2.3. and 5.2.4.). The first relates to how the thesis draws attention to the underlying importance of discourse in the perpetuation of asymmetrical power relations in 24-hour care. The second contribution regards the significance of online spaces in 24-hour care. Overall, the thesis contributes to the emerging field of 24-hour care in providing critical feminist research on underlying aspects of the shifting provision of elder care in Switzerland (sub-section 5.25.).

5.2.1. Discourses that care and the valuation of live-in care workers' "heart-felt warmth"

The ways in which live-in care is discussed are an integral aspect of the emerging field of 24-hour care. A discourse analysis of these discussions indicates how notions of care reflect in these discussions. For one, medial, public, and academic discourses "care" in their engagement with issues of legality, price levels and working conditions in 24-hour care. Research paper five elaborates on how these debates are for example articulated in terms of the social desirability of live-in care in the media. Moreover, the ways in which notions of "care" reflect in the discourse

on 24-hour care is particularly visible in discussions of care workers' particularly caring, warm and affectionate provision of elder care. The discourse analysis shows that not just any caring activity, any body providing this care, and not just any way of caring is at the heart of Swiss live-in care as it has been discussed. The care-givers' "heart-felt warmth" and particular motivation, their presence and availability are at the heart here. Their supposed "heart-felt warmth" is addressed on all levels of discourse–from care agencies, to scholarship and care workers. In particular care agencies articulate the notion of "heart-felt warmth" or *Herzlichkeit* in German. As I discuss specifically in research papers three and one, the care that is at the heart of 24-hour care services is described by the agencies with a focus on care-givers' supposed "heart-felt warmth" (*Herzlichkeit*) in their performance of the service. Thus the narrative of "heart-felt warmth" presents live-in care as a discreet support that is characterised by the continuous presence of a care-giver at the elderly person's household. The papers discuss the significance of this specific focus on care workers' "heart-felt warmth".

In particular, the papers consider the potential ramifications and political implications of the reflection of notions of care in the discourse. Research paper five explores how employing families' responsibilities are neglected in medial discussions of live-in care. Paper one investigates how care workers' supposed "heart-felt warmth" is articulated in a context which distinguishes between workers' places of origins and the place where they work (Switzerland, for example). Based on this distinction, workers' "heart-felt warmth" has an origin-specific connotation. This point comes to matter in the complex fields of working conditions, political participation (see research papers four) and the remuneration of live-in care workers. As I further elaborate on in paper three, the designation of live-in care-givers' care work as particularly caring, affectionate or "warm" has also led to a spatial qualification of their pay. In other words, care workers' low pay is *inter alia* justified by their places of origin and their origin-related "warmth". Paper three here also shows how the "warmth" discourse is inseparable of the waging of elder care. The crux here is that the care-givers' re-presentation in a light that underlines their particular care-giving propensities only makes possible the successful marketing of 24-hour elder care services in their current form.

Overall, the papers address the highly intricate valuation of live-in care work based on assumptions about the characteristics and provenance of the bodies that perform it. This brings us to the second central theme of this thesis and its individual research papers: the bodies that work, and the relationship between narratives and the working bodies' subjectivation.

5.2.2. Bodies that work: powerful narratives and subjectivities

A second central theme in the research papers regards the relationship between key discursive narratives and the bodies and subjectivities of live-in care workers. The papers share a–conceptual, analytical–focus on bodies and the ways in which discursive narratives contribute to the articulation of care workers' subjectivities. The literature discusses the articulation and/or stabilisation of subjectivities and subject positions in terms of subjectivation or subjectification. In their analyses of Swiss live-in care and its central discursive narratives, the research papers have discussed the explicit term *Care-Migrantin* and the more general notion of 24-hour care migrant.

The notion of *Care-Migration* is central in the discourse on live-in care. Scholarship, institutional and journalistic reports as well as care workers draw on this terminology in discussions about live-in care workers by calling them *Care-Migrantinnen*. As research paper one elaborates, the term translates roughly to "female care migrants". The interpellation (naming, calling) of live-in care workers as *Care-Migrantin* is a noteworthy moment in the discourse. Research paper three, two, and one therefore give reference to the interpellation and discuss its significance. In different ways and with diverging foci, the texts explore how this interpellation discursively articulates (brings into being) the 24-hour care workers as a migrant body and a female migrant workers' subjectivity. Research paper two and one show how the interpellation *Care-Migrantin* formulates a powerful legitimisation of discussing mobile care workers as (primarily) migrants. They consider how the interpellation *Care-Migrantin* thus shapes the legible possibilities of which bodies (can) care. As research paper one for instance argues, live-in care workers' so-called origins and the values attached to these places fundamentally contribute to these possibilities. This means that the interpellation of live-in care workers as *Care-Migrantinnen* marks a highly powerful narrative as to who is understood to care, and adds a complex layer to the intricate process in which migrant bodies' live-in care work is valued (see previous sub-section). Research paper two therefore specifically explored the ways in which discursively mediated relations of power materialise–this means, come into being and take shape–on and through workers' bodies. A form of power here refers to the ways in which only certain bodies and subjectivities are legible–are understood to be possible and make sense–in the context of live-in care.

Building on this discussion of the specific interpellation *Care-Migrantin*, research paper two explores live-in care workers' subjectivation. It does so through investigating how the set-up of

24-hour care and the central activities involved in providing 24-hour care shape live-in care-givers' possibilities of subjectivation while on duty. Of particular relevance here are workers' reiterative (repeated) performances of caring, working and moving. The paper's analysis suggests that workers' reiterative performances of caring, working and moving are central parameters of their possibilities of subjectivation while on duty as live-in care workers. Based on this observation, paper two argues that these performances engender the embodied subjectivity "24-hour carer". As a subjectivity, "24-hour carer" encompasses a number of expectations and characteristics as discussed in the media, academia, and on agencies' websites, including a caring and "warm" character, a particular dedication to provide 24-hour care to the Swiss elderly, as well as a readiness to move across borders in order to do so. Paper two's analysis thus shows how discursive narratives and context factors including the migration-work regime and the set-up of live-in care have a concrete influence on the ways in which individual women materialise as live-in care-givers while at work. We can see aspects of this influence in live-in care workers' social and political visibility, for instance. Research paper four considers some concrete political dimensions of care workers' subjectivation. It discusses how the live-in arrangement and the applicable migration and work regime (legal framework) considerably impact care workers' participation in local society. As they influence what workers do, where they go and who they associate with, they influence who they are when on duty in Switzerland.

Overall, the research papers' discussions of the ways in which the subjectivity "24-hour carer" materialises provide a comprehensive and intersectional analysis of the intricate relationship between discursive narratives and workers' subjectivation.

This point leads us to a central overall argument of the research papers: the underlying importance of discourse in live-in care.

5.2.3. The underlying importance of discourse in the perpetuation of asymmetrical power relations

As the previous two sub-sections indicate, a central topic of the research papers combined in this thesis regards their focus on how discourse matters. In particular, the research papers show how central narratives underlie fundamental relations of power in live-in care. A central axis and manifestation of these power relations regards problematic working conditions in live-in arrangements which are characterised by live-in workers' overwork and frequent social isolation (B S S Volkswirtschaftliche Beratung, 2016, p. iv; Schilliger, 2014, pp. 222-229).

The research papers addressed this relationship through analyses of central terms in live-in care on all levels of the discourse including central notions in academic, public and media discussions. Research papers one, two, and three investigated the notions *Care-Migrantin* ("female care migrant"), *Ethnisierung* (ethnicisation), and *Kommodifizierung* (commodification). Moreover, research paper one explores the ways in which dominant discursive narratives talk about the places associated with live-in care workers in terms of difference–as different to Switzerland. In so doing, workers are discursively distanced from their place of work which contributes to the articulation of workers and their characteristics as "different". As research paper five indicates, one important way in which medial discussions achieve this powerful distancing is by printing stories about foreign care workers' exploitative conditions of work in Switzerland. Its analysis also indicates that this framing "does something". In other words, the research papers suggest that these are highly powerful notions and narratives. They are powerful in that they are not distinct from live-in care but intricately involved in the struggle of live-in care. The framing of live-in workers as migrants, the discussion of their experiences of live-in care in respect to processes of ethnicisation and the analytical abstraction of their work as a commodified good are part and parcel in the on-going negotiation of the emerging field of live-in care.

The papers thus point to the power of discourse and its significance for how narratives of power underlie fundamental inequalities in live-in care. The point here is the effect of power which is achieved through discussing conditions of work with a particular emphasis on care workers' origins, foreignness, circular migration, etc.. The salience and purpose of the papers' exploration of how relations of power are discursively articulated thus regards the critical investigation of the significance and potency of these narratives for sustained inequalities in live-in care, in particular live-in care workers' conditions of work.

In this context, the research papers also address the struggle of this negotiation in showing its complexity. For example, research paper four both explores the powerful invisibilisation of care workers in live-in arrangements and discusses the ways in which live-in care workers individually and collectively make themselves visible and claim their voice. In organising and actively negotiating their 'right to the city', care workers illustrate how dominant discourses can be challenged and power relations re-written. In so doing, the papers also show the significance of discourse: it not only serves to perpetuate underlying inequalities but marks a central locus of the struggle around live-in care. Research papers four and three discuss live-in care workers'

active involvement. Research paper four explores workers' mobilisation for the purpose of improvements of working conditions while research paper three shows how live-in carers actively engage in the definitional struggle and qualitative valuation of live-in care.
The following sub-section treats a second overall contribution of this thesis.

5.2.4. The significance of online spaces in live-in care

The research papers combined in this thesis rest on a discourse analysis of central narratives of Swiss live-in care. Central narratives were articulated on online spaces including care agencies' websites and online care forums. Care agency websites, as in particular research papers one to three show, are important sites for analysis since they are key platforms in the facilitation of live-in care arrangements as a paid form of elder care. These websites provide a new space and form of both elder care and the arrangement of employment. In this sense, they also have wider–methodological and epistemological–significance. The centrality of online spaces for the establishment of live-in care services indicates a highly interesting and timely re-configuration of economic spatialities and their analysis.
Since care agencies have started to formally offer private live-in care services, websites have been the central platform of information and linkage for providers, (potential) customers and (potential) workers. As the key platforms for the facilitation and organisation of 24-hour care in Switzerland, agency websites have occupied a particular position in the field. More recently, the significance of online spaces in 24-hour care has been emphasised by the emergence of a number of online platforms which are organised like noticeboards (see research paper three). These platforms are online market places that promise a prompt and easy linking of care worker and elderly person. This expansion of online spaces and their growing importance in the so-called match-making can also be seen in the increasing informalisation of online interaction. Online spaces including the social networking platform *Facebook* not only allow live-in care workers to keep in touch with friends and family abroad while on duty and to connect with other care workers in and beyond Switzerland but have increasingly also been used as a casual means to establish a live-in care relationship (Schilliger, 2014, pp. 80, 280; Truong, 2015, p. 82).
The growing centrality of websites is significant in two interrelated ways. First, the importance of websites in Swiss live-in care illustrates how both economic relations and spaces are being re-negotiated and re-shaped. Paper three engages with these processes of re-configurations. It shows how the discussion of 24-hour care on agency websites is a central aspect in the definition or, if

you will, the packaging of the service live-in care. It also shows how the online space of the website has a considerable impact on the "linking" or "matching" process. Via the website, a care relationship is arranged based on information received or exchanged in online spaces. Large parts of the care relationship emerge in virtual spaces–through virtual processes of match-making that are based virtually only on mediated information, assumptions and expectations. Second, the centrality of online spaces in live-in care services and the concomitant re-configuration of economic spatialities are also of epistemological significance. As the particulars of 24-hour care have to date predominantly been spelled out in online websites, they offer direct and simultaneous insight into the facilitation and arrangement of 24-hour care. Analysis of agency websites affords new insights in the ways in which live-in care is marketed. This is important as websites articulate 24-hour care–as a form of paid employment, as waged work, as a service–in a context of considerable definitional struggle. As paper three shows, analysis of online spaces in 24-hour care also draw attention to care workers' voices and represent them in the ways in which workers themselves express them. Critical analysis of online spaces based on recognition of their importance therefore also has noteworthy implications for the ways in which we conceptualise fundamental aspects and processes of live-in care. Research paper three here argues that articulations on online spaces critically contest or re-evaluate notions of commodification in relation to paid live-in elder care. As also outlined in the previous sub-section, this is a very important and original contribution to studies of Swiss live-in care.

In all, the thesis contends that online spaces are significant in Swiss live-in care; they have been the central spaces in which 24-hour care arrangements are facilitated. This dynamic indicates a (re-)shaping of economic relations and spaces. The papers show how analysis of the discourses articulated on online spaces affords direct insight in this current process.

The last sub-section of this chapter discusses the ways in which the thesis contributes critical feminist knowledge about on-going and intricate processes.

5.2.5. Elder care on the move

24-hour care is an emerging field whose parameters and regulation are in current negotiation. Commentators have discussed a number of perceived shifts or changes in this emerging field. The research papers assembled in this thesis have investigated the ways in which these perceived shifts are discussed in the discourse. There are two interrelated ways in which elder care in Switzerland has been discussed as "on the move".

The first regards how the way or form of providing elder care is discussed as shifting/having shifted. The processes and developments associated with 24-hour care are predominantly discussed in critical terms. Research paper five shows how the media discuss a boom in care agencies and workers' exploitative conditions of work. Research paper three explores how the formulation of elder care into a paid service with distinctly "personal" aspects has been discussed as a re-configuration of elder care into a commodity. Second, elder care is also "on the move" in the sense that those who give it are highly mobile. In particular, the thesis has been interested in how women workers' mobility has been discussed in the discourse. The papers analyse how live-in care-givers' mobility is discussed in specific terms (paper one to three), often with a (simultaneous) emphasis on the advantage and precariousness involved for the workers (paper five). In this context, paper one and four point out how live-in care workers are at the same time highly mobile and in many cases very much tied to one household when on duty. Since they spend large parts of the day with the caree, live-in care workers' access to political and social participation might be complicated, and their presence barely perceptible to the outside world. Research paper one shows that even when women working as live-in care-givers stay in Switzerland, the discourse often spatially dis-locates them from Switzerland.

In considering intricate forms of mobility in relation to discursive process of dis-location, the research papers assembled in this thesis contribute critical feminist knowledge about the potency of discursive narratives in the context of current re-negotiations of border and migration regimes within Europe including the right to the free movement of people across national borders.

6. Conclusion and outlook

This thesis explores 24-hour in German-speaking Switzerland care with a focus on the ways in which live-in care services are discussed in the discourse. 24-hour care refers to individual, paid care arrangements at the elderly persons' homes. So-called care agencies offer around-the-clock elder care services on their websites. They also facilitate the organisation of 24-hour care arrangements. The workers that have to date provided 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland are predominantly women from the European Union member states Poland, Hungary and Slovakia. When on duty, care workers both work and stay at private households. While their abode and residency varies, the majority of live-in care-givers work for set periods of time as live-in care-givers in Swiss households. Some workers engage in a form of temporary, pendular mobility that has been discussed as circular migration. This means that after a set period in a Swiss household, the workers leave and other care workers look after the elderly persons. After another set period, the second workers are off duty, the first workers return and so on and so forth.

Both academic literature and public-medial discussions have identified a number of issues with this form of around-the-clock elder care work. The thesis therefore explored central issues of work and power in this private, live-in form of elder care. Recognising the importance of discursive discussions in the negation of this emerging field, the five research papers assembled in this thesis present analyses of the discourse on 24-hour care in German-speaking Switzerland. They focus on the central discursive narratives and their political significance. Drawing on sustained feminist debates on work and care, I approached the field of study from a feminist analytical perspective with particular attention to notions of work, gender, and bodies. Doing so allowed me to analyse the complex relations of power in 24-hour care which have lead to the considerable inequalities in the field and which have been discussed by labour rights activists, regulators, care workers, journalists, and academics alike.
Following questions of difference, pay, the becoming of an embodied subject, participation, and the power and limitations of medial construction, the individual research papers explored the field in its full complexity.

The research papers show how the particular ways in which 24-hour care has been discussed underlie many of the identified inequities in this field of work. Specifically, the papers' analyses suggest that the ways in which we talk about and the kinds of narratives that we articulate about 24-hour care and the bodies that move across space to assist elderly persons elsewhere are of fundamental importance for how we understand, and thus value, the work of live-in care and those who give it. The organisation of elder care based on notions of good care practice begins with the way it is discussed. My findings thus suggest that one meaningful way of approaching this good care practice starts with a discussion of elder care that is aware of its power in the sense of its potency to value and devalue.

This awareness of the power of words is useful since elder care is a complex issue of increasing social, political and economic significance. It consists of, connects to and opens up a number of issues and debates that are complicated by the range of perspectives that come together in the care relationship–the assisted person, the person who gives care, their families and social networks, and institutional and other understandings of good care. As gendered norms of care are being re-articulated and statistics predict increasing life expectancies, the organisation of care for the elderly will be of increasing societal and political relevance in Switzerland and elsewhere. In exploring the ways in which narratives of power underlie and sustain relations of power in live-in care, this thesis articulated a critical contribution to this complex field that is of timely political and theoretical consequence.

In the context of a growing flexibilisation of labour markets and the labour force, greater informalisation of work, and more complex patterns of often international home-to-work commutes, the thesis' focus on the power of words contributes to the investigation of power relations in a number of fields and forms of temporary employment of mobile workers, in particular when this employment is arranged or a form of work placement. The thesis' emphasis on the potency of words regarding both the legitimisation of precarious forms of temporary employment as well as the justification of inadequate conditions of work can thus be of significance for a plethora of critical and feminist investigations of a number of geographical and emerging vocational fields that are characterised by a highly mobile work force.

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Part Two: Research Papers

Paper 1

Places of difference: narratives of heart-felt warmth, ethnicisation, and female care-migrants in Swiss live-in care

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Places of difference: narratives of heart-felt warmth, ethnicisation, and female care-migrants in Swiss live-in care

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ABSTRACT

Care for the elderly is a contemporary issue of multi-level, feminist concern. In Switzerland, private agencies offer so-called 24-h care services, for which they place or employ mobile women as live-in caregivers in private households. The larger discourse has debated care workers' movements to Switzerland with much controversy. The article explores this interest in issues of mobility and place in an analysis of three central narratives within the larger discourse: care agencies' 'warmth' discourse, scholarship's uses of 'ethnicisation', and public discussions of 'female care migrants'. Analysis of the narratives shows how care agencies ascribe care workers a particular 'heart-felt warmth' based on their so-called countries of origin. Scholarship's reference to processes of 'ethnicisation' in live-in care illustrates a similar focus on care workers' characteristics, nation-states, and nationalities. While the public discussion of care workers as 'female care migrants' frames care workers' movements as a migration between discreet and distant places. The article argues that the ways in which the three narratives emphasise the places associated with care workers position these places in terms of difference. From a feminist perspective, this focus on difference is of underlying significance for the perpetuation of fundamental inequities in live-in care. In particular, the discursive differentiation between nation states serves to continually justify lower pay for workers associated with 'other' places. As such, the article's analysis suggests that the discursive invocation of places of difference underlies the marked inequities in Swiss live-in care.

Lugares de diferencia: narrativas de calidez sincera, etnificación y migrantes mujeres cuidadoras con cama adentro en Suiza

RESUMEN

El cuidado de lxs ancianxs es un tema contemporáneo de preocupación para el feminismo en múltiples niveles. En Suiza, las agencias privadas ofrecen los llamados servicios de cuidado de 24 hrs por los cuales se ubican o emplean a mujeres mobiles como cuidadoras con cama adentro en hogares privados. El discurso más amplio ha debatido los movimientos de lxs trabajadorxs del cuidado hacia Suiza con mucha controversia. El artículo analiza este interés en temas de movilidad y lugar en un análisis de tres narrativas centrales dentro del discurso más amplio: el discurso 'cálido' de las agencias de cuidado, el uso de la 'etnificación' por parte de lxs académicxs, y las discusiones públicas de las 'migrantes cuidadoras mujeres'. El análisis de las narrativas muestra cómo las agencias de cuidado adscriben a las cuidadoras

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关键词
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del cuidado una particular 'calidez sincera' basada en sus llamados países de origen. La referencia de lxs académicxs a los procesos de 'etnificación' en el cuidado con cama adentro ilustra un foco similar sobre las características de las trabajadoras, los Estados-nación y las nacionalidades. Mientras tanto, la discusión pública de los movimientos de las trabajadoras del cuidado como 'mujeres migrantes del cuidado' enmarca a los movimientos de las trabajadoras del cuidado como una migración entre lugares definidos y distantes. El artículo sostiene que las formas en que las tres narrativas enfatizan los lugares asociados con las trabajadoras del cuidado posicionan a estos sitios en términos de diferencia. Desde una perspectiva feminista, este foco en la diferencia tiene una importancia clave en la perpetuación de las desigualdades fundamentales en el cuidado con cama adentro. En particular, la diferenciación discursiva entre los Estados-nación sirve para justificar continuamente un pago menor para las trabajadoras asociadas con 'otros' países. Así, el análisis del artículo sugiere que esta invocación discursiva de lugares de diferencia subyace a las desigualdades marcadas en el cuidado con cama adentro en Suiza.

地方差异：由衷的温暖、族裔化和瑞士居家照护的女性看护移工

摘要

对于老人的照护，是当代多重层级女权主义所考量的议题。在瑞典，私人机构提供所谓的二十四小时照护服务，派任或聘僱非住民女性作为私人家户中的居家照护者。更广泛的论述，在辩论照护工迁徙至瑞士时存在诸多的争议。本文在分析更为广泛的论述的三大核心叙事中，探讨此般对移动与地方议题的兴趣：照护机构的'温暖'论述、学术研究使用的'族裔化'概念，以及'女性照护移工'的公众讨论。叙事分析显示出，照护机构如何根据所谓照护工人的来源国来推定照护工特定的'由衷温暖'。学术研究所指涉的居家照护的'族裔化'过程，则阐明了对照护工的特徵、国族国家和国籍的相似关注。而公众讨论则将照护工作者视为'女性照护移工'，并将照护工人的移动构想成在不引人注目且距离遥远的地方之间的迁徙。本文主张，上述三种叙事强调与照护工人有关的地方之方式，是根据差异安置这些地方。从女权主义的视角观之，此般对差异的关注，对居家照护中续存的根本性不平等而言具有潜在的显着意义。特别是不同国族国家之间的论述差异化，持续提供作为合理化来自'其他'地方的工人薪资较低的理由。本文的分析据此主张，地方差异的论述援引，构成了瑞士居家照护中显着不平等的基础。

Introduction: Swiss 24-h care

Care for the elderly is a topic of considerable feminist and socio-political concern (Eaton 2005). In the context of the re-structuring of national public services, demographic ageing, the growth in formal employment of women, and changing familial patterns, private firms often drive emerging global economies of care (Greenhough et al. 2014, 84). In their function as labour market intermediaries, they link caregivers and care-recipients, and thus fields, which might otherwise be imagined as socially and spatially unconnected (Kern and Müller-Böker 2015, 159). In German-speaking Switzerland, private firms now offer individual elder care arrangements which they term *24-hour care* (Truong, Berndt, and Schwiter 2012). In general, 24-h care refers to non-medical assistance and takes place at the elderly person's private household. Depending on the arrangement, the caregiver is either an employee of the family or the agency. The caregivers work between 2 and 12 weeks in a household, during which time they also stay at their place of work. Swiss 24-h elder care is thus a form of live-in care. To date, there are no official statistics specifically on 24-h care (Bundesrat, SECO, and WBF 2015, 8). It is generally assumed that the majority of live-in care workers in German-speaking Switzerland are women from Central-Eastern European countries (Regierungsrat Kanton Schwyz 2016, 2). This is because citizens of

countries that acceded the European Union in 2004 (Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary are of particular relevance here) gained 'free' access to the Switzerland labour market in 2011. As live-in care workers are predominantly not Swiss residents, the majority of workers regularly move between their places of residence and work. The literature has discussed this regular short-term movement in terms of 'to-ing and fro-ing' (Yeoh and Ramdas 2014; 1197), circular migration or circular mobility (Vertovec 2007; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 106).

The ensuing debate in German-speaking Switzerland has paid much attention to the high degree of mobility, which is required for a job that takes place in the confined space of someone else's private household (Haeferly 2011; Van Holten, Jähnke, and Bischofberger 2013). This paper explores this focus on issues of place and mobility through a discursive analysis of three central discursive narratives of Swiss live-in care. These are care agencies' evocation of care workers' 'warmth', scholarship's reference to processes of 'ethnicisation', and the public discussion of care workers as 'female care migrants'. The paper's analysis shows how care agencies evoke care workers' 'warmth' in relation to their countries of origin; how the discussion of 'ethnicisation' mirrors this focus on characteristics, nationalities, national economies or markets; and how the interpellation of care workers as 'female care migrant' mobilises place as country of origin (home) and country of destination (work). Based on this analysis, the paper finds that the three narratives frame the places associated with live-in care workers as places of 'difference'. The significance of this place-focused differentiation becomes clear when we draw our attention to the number of inequities and irregularities in live-in care (Schilliger 2013). With particular reference to working conditions and adequate remuneration, the paper argues that the discursive mobilisation of places of difference is of underlying significance for the justification and perpetuation of considerable inequities in the praxis of Swiss live-in care.

Mobilisations of difference in care work: theoretical context

Feminist geographies have explored the ways in which bodies move across space to take care of others elsewhere (Hochschild 2000a; Raghuram 2012; Greenhough et al. 2014). Of central concern in research on contemporary care chains and paid care are the number of inequities including uneven power relations and a 'stratification' of social reproduction (Kofman 2012; Strauss 2012). Processes of differentiation and 'Othering' (Bigler 1997, 12; Van Houtum and Van Naerssen 2002) lie at the heart of these inequalities. The often particular emphasis on care workers' place or country of origin, nationality, race or ethnic group implicates care workers in imaginaries of difference: as 'different from' the speaker. Ultimately, this creates distance between those paying for and those giving care (see Nakano Glenn 1992, 1999).

The mobilisation of difference in care chains is increasingly discussed in terms ethnicisation (Lutz 2007; Kontos 2010). For example, Bonnie Urciuoli (1996, 16) conceptualises ethnicisation as the process which attaches a 'cultural' meaning to groups and their 'origins'. Loveband (2004, 336) applies the term to describe brokers' powerful mobilisation of nationality-based stereotypes against women who come from neighbouring countries to work in Taiwan. Scholarship on Swiss live-in care applies ethnicisation to address the processes of place-based differentiation that underlie the recruitment of mobile women care workers (see Schwiter, Berndt, and Schilling 2014). The visible focus on nationalities, nation-states, and origins within one political region indicates the importance of notions of place in care chains.

In care for elderly people, the private home is a fundamental place, as it is often understood as both the anthropological and physical place of intimacy, privacy, and memory (Milligan 2003, 462) and hence 'the preferred site of care provision' (ibid., 455). At the same time, the live-in arrangement means that care agencies place workers: someone's private home becomes someone else's workplace and place to stay (see Lutz 2008). This simultaneity demonstrates the ways in which power relations are always part of place, including the home place (Cresswell 1994, 2003, 4). In contemporary care chains, these power relations are particularly visible in the relationships between the places on one care chain. Care workers' movements connect these places. However, their movements also illustrate how place has been understood to be subjected to dynamics of fragmentation and disruption in recent times (see Massey 1994). In this context, the ways in which we talk about places is central. If we talk about a place

associated with migrant caregivers as a 'poor country', for example, (see Hochschild 2000b, 358), this place is Othered and the relationship between the places on a care chain articulated with a tangible element of power. For this reason, feminist geographers have pointed out that notions of place can contribute to 'the construction of differences across women' (Pratt and Hanson 1994, 5). As such, it is particularly important to explore the political implications of mobilising places of difference.

Exploring discursive narratives: methodological considerations

The research presented in this paper was conducted as part of a larger study on the discursive struggle around the meaning of 'work' and '24-hour care' in Swiss live-in care (Torfing 1999, 12; Carver 2002, 51). Between September 2013 and 2015, I gathered evidence from agency websites, and scholarly and public discussions of 24-h care through online searches. In this paper, I consider around forty agencies' extensive descriptions of their services on their websites, the published academic literature that discusses Swiss live-in care with reference to 'ethnicisation', and medial discussions of 'Care-Migration' during and prior to the period of enquiry.

The three narratives were analysed according to recurring discursive patterns. Analysis and interpretation are based on a feminist new-materialist reading of discourse analysis (Hayes-Conroy and Hayes-Conroy 2008, 463–465; Waitt 2010). This implies recognition of the mutual interdependence of discourse and praxis in creating the field of live-in care, and thus the analytical treatment of discursive articulations as inseparable from what Susan Hanson and Geraldine Pratt have called the 'place-bound interactions of everyday life' (Hanson and Pratt 1992, 373). Pratt (1999) illustrated this point in her observation that the discursive figure of 'the Filipina maid' is a central factor in migrant care workers' understandings of themselves, their work, and labour market opportunities in Canada. In this sense, discursive narratives such as the interpellation of care workers as 'female care migrants' are a crucial locus for the investigation of inequities in live-in care. Website data is an essential part of my empirical material, as virtual discourses become more and more influential. For example, Busch (2012, 56) gained valuable insight in the recruitment of nannies in Britain through studying employment agency advertisements on the website *Gumtree*. While an analysis of medial narratives offers direct insight into a highly contemporary issue (see Walker 2005).

Due to the sensitivity of the data, I paid particular attention to feminist ethics of knowledge production, specifically to epistemological concerns regarding the scientific re-presentation of inequalities and stereotyping narratives (see Alcoff 1995; Schurr and Abdo 2016). In order to rework these concerns into feminist assertions of gendered agency, I approached stereotyping narratives about care workers cautiously and with sensitivity towards their inherent ambivalence (see Pratt 1997; Mezzadra and Neilson 2013, 106). Since the article discusses narratives, which are originally in Swiss-German, I furthermore paid close attention to the politics of language and translation in the treatment of the empirical data (Mottier 2005; Spivak 2012, 201). Using inverted commas and explaining the key discursive terms as well as possible in English, I hope to convey the Swiss-German idioms' connotations and political significance to a critical academic audience. The following three sections engage with the three discursive narratives; I discuss how agencies' 'warmth' discourse, scholarship's uses of 'ethnicisation', and public discourse's interpellation of live-in care workers as 'female care migrants' mobilise places of difference.

Narrative one: 'heart-felt' care work on broker websites and place as 'origin'

Heart-shaped symbols and images of elderly people holding hands with care workers, smiling contently: on their websites, many Swiss care agencies seek to frame 24-h care as noticeably caring. They do so by invoking carers' 'warmth' – *Herzlichkeit* in German. *Herzlichkeit* has the noun 'heart' in it and roughly translates as 'heart-felt warmth'. As one agency's slogan 'affordable care – priceless warmth' (Pflegehilfe Schweiz 2014) epitomises, *Herzlichkeit* is a central notion in care agencies' discourse. Agencies articulate 'warmth' by foregrounding care workers' dedication, behaviour, and characteristics – rather than education or skill, for example – in their descriptions of 24-h care. As another agency explains, 'in our

employees, we particularly appreciate their commitment, service orientation out of conviction, and impeccable repute' (Senioren zu Hause 2014). We see that the 'warmth' discourse relates carer-workers' particular capacity, motivation, and availability to perform 24-h care to the places of their so-called origins. In general, agencies articulate care workers' places of origin in terms of a nation-state, a larger region or geo-political imaginary such as 'Eastern' or 'Eastern-Europe' (Daheim 24 2014). They discuss the meaning and significance of these places in terms of 'quality' and certain characteristics and values.

Regarding the quality of the live-in care, carer-workers' knowledge of German is often a central factor in the cost of the live-in care. For example, agency *Pflegehilfe Schweiz* offers three packages of live-in care; the 'standard' package promises a care worker with 'elementary German' starting from 4.900 Swiss Francs per month, while the 'expert' package offers a care worker with the ability to 'converse well' for upwards of 5.900 Swiss Francs per month (Pflegehilfe Schweiz 2016). In other words, a caregiver from Austria or Germany, or with advanced German language skills is being marketed as high-end. This illustrates the ways in which agencies tie particular characteristics and values to given places. We can also see this in another agency's assertion that they prefer working with women from Hungary, as for them, 'from all the Eastern European workers, the Hungarians are those closest to our [Swiss] mentality and hence need the least adaption. They are very self-sacrificing and have a high sense of ethics that comes close to ours' (ElternCare 2014). The agency explains its recruitment of live-in care workers from Hungary in a powerful narrative about 'the' Hungarians' sense of ethics in approximation to a certain imaginary of 'the' Swiss mentality but in contrast to 'other' Eastern European workers.

The manner in which *ElternCare* agency talks about care workers, their places of origin, and characteristics, is illustrative of the ways in which Swiss care agencies' 'warmth' discourse mobilises care workers' places in terms of origins. With references to nation-states, nationalities, and regions, agencies discuss care workers in terms of their places of 'origin' and relate imaginaries of their characteristics (behaviour, mentality, sense of ethics) to these places. It is however noteworthy that the ways in which agencies mobilise difference is equally direct and relative to its respective context or clientele. For example, *ElternCare* agency's simultaneous differentiation and quasi-entanglement of Swiss and Hungarian ethics only works through contrasting both to a more general Eastern European Other. In this sense, agencies' 'warmth' discourse mobilises places of difference not in absolute but in highly context contingent terms. The next section explores scholarship's discussions of place-focused differentiation with reference to 'ethnicisation'.

Narrative two: scholarship on place-focused differentiation: the notion of 'ethnicisation'

Research has critically explored the limitations of Swiss live-in care in relation to questions of inequity and power with increasing reference to 'ethnicisation' – *Ethnisierung* in German. The following passage discusses the ways in which the current three uses of ethnicisation are based on and evoke notions of places of difference in the dynamics they describe.

One application of the term conceives of ethnicisation as a process that involves countries of origin and the care workers' personae. Schwiter et al. for example, observe 'an ethnicisation of the women as Hungarian, Polish or Eastern-German women' (2014, 24) in Swiss live-in care. As they speak of women workers' ethnicisation *as* a given nationality, the term refers to the reading of workers in terms of their/other nationalities. Helma Lutz explains that in the context of Central European care chains, this reading refers to an attribution of certain characteristics. In her study on au-pairs in Germany, Lutz (2005, 76) writes that 'the readiness for sacrifice of the au-pair is ethnicised as a characteristic of Eastern European women.' This application of ethnicisation is hence a way of expressing that certain women from particular other countries are or can be read in a script of difference, which allows their portrayal as specifically selfless or more caring than the respective national control group of women/caregivers. As such, this use of ethnicisation analytically links politicised places and the discursive attribution of culturally grounded characteristics (similar to agencies' 'warmth' discourse above).

A second use addresses larger phenomena such as 'ethnicising and sexualising discourses and practices' (Van Holten, Jähnke, and Bischofberger 2013, 18) or 'gendering and ethnicising' processes (Schwiter, Berndt, and Schilling 2014, 24). As ethnicisation is understood to circulate on all levels of the discourse (cf. Van Holten, Jähnke, and Bischofberger 2013, 18), this use of ethnicisation frames the process in largely abstract terms. It suggests an underlying place-focused stereotyping and does not directly address any particular actors who contribute to the process of ethnicisation. In this sense, this use of ethnicisation articulates the ways in which the dynamics of place-focused differentiation in live-in care are understood as equally fundamental and difficult to conceptualise.

Meanwhile, a third usage focuses on the concrete locus or idea of the market in 24-h care. In one of the first studies of Swiss live-in care, Sarah Schilliger observed that ethnicisation is 'fundamental to its [the live-in care market's] most basic logics' (Schilliger 2014, 26). As such, Schilliger writes of 'a gendered and ethnicised labour market in the private household' (ibid., 12). Ethnicisation in the market spans from Swiss households across Europe. Subsequently, the literature draws attention to the political and social consequences of an 'ethnicised' care market including the gender and economic realities of a quantitatively and qualitatively pronounced occupational segregation. Through explicit reference to other countries and average wage level comparisons between national economies (Schwiter, Berndt, and Schilling 2014, 22), scholarship seeks to point out that the justification of live-in migrant care workers' low wages is based on sustained emphasis on their origins (Schilliger 2015, 167).

Scholarship applies the notion ethnicisation as part of efforts to conceptualise the intricate dynamics of place-focused differentiation on which live-in care currently rests. Its current three uses refer to nation-states, national economies, and markets. Nationalities and larger structures including discourses function as proxies for these places respectively ethnicisation. In this sense, the ways in which current uses of ethnicisation point to other places in discussions of live-in care's fundamental limitations contributes to the discursive framing of the places associated with care workers as different. The following section turns to the public debate.

Narrative three: the 'female care migrant' and distant, discreet places in the public debate

Care workers' regular movements in and out of Switzerland are a major issue of interest and controversy in Swiss-German public debate on live-in care (Turnherr 2015). The media, political institutions, and scholars often discuss live-in care in terms of a so-called *Care-Migration*. This neological nomenclature stems from scholastic language (Van Holten, Jähnke, and Bischofberger 2013) and is also applied to live-in elder care workers. Increasingly often, they are called *Care-Migrantinnen* (SRF 2013a) – or 'female care migrants' in English. In the term *Care-Migrantin*, 'migrant' is the active, main noun. It thus describes a person who migrates to Switzerland in order to give care. The term can be read as a powerful stress on care workers' mobility, even as an affirmative designation of workers' circular movements as a form of migration. This becomes even clearer when considering *Care-Migrantin's* main alternative term – female care worker (*Care-Arbeiterin*). As 'worker' is the central noun, it describes a worker in the care sector.

In its application, *Care-Migrantin* puts the focus on care workers' mobility and frames it as migration. This achieves a powerful discursive bordering between places – in particular between places of origin (home) and of destination (work). We can observe this in journalistic reports of problematic or exploitative working conditions in live-in care (SRF 2013b; Keim 2014). The reports are often based on ideas that *Care-Migrantion* to Switzerland uproots the women workers from their own homes abroad. These ideas evoke care workers' assumed home and family outside of Switzerland in a very affective manner. A noteworthy example is the Swiss national television's documentary, which accompanies live-in care workers on their journeys and to their homes (SRF DOK 2013).

Moreover, the mobilisation of the family abroad locates live-in care workers at their homes. This can be observed in media discussions around possible motivations to perform 24-h care work under such 'precarious' conditions (Haeferly 2011). For instance, one newspaper article is titled 'Off abroad in order to be able to live at home' (Odehnal and Cluc 2013). Such narratives not only firmly locate

Care-Migrantinnen in their so-called home countries but also dis-locate them from any possibility of a visible or even permanent presence in Switzerland. The interpellation 'Polish women' (Polinnen in German, SRF 2011) makes plain live-in care workers' dis-location from Switzerland. Care workers might be called thus (as a group), even though they might not even (all) come from Poland (see also Karakayali 2009, 21). This language also illustrates the discourse's emphasis on politicised places or nation-states. The media often discuss women's motivations to work as live-in care workers with regard to fundamental differences in national economies and levels of social welfare between Switzerland and care workers' places of origin (Ellner 2012, see also the third use of ethnicisation).

Overall, the interpellation of live-in care workers as *Care-Migrantinnen* mobilises imaginaries of relatively discreet and/or disconnected places of origin and destination. The discourse's attribution of care workers to their families at home contributes to their dis-location from Switzerland. Moreover, in stressing the precarious conditions and circumstances of work, which so-called *female care migrants* or *Polish women* in particular experience in Switzerland, the discourse achieves an even starker discursive contrast between Swiss and migrant workers. The effects of this dis-locating mobilisation of difference can be considerable. The next section explores the three narratives' relationships to live-in care workers' conditions of work and the notion of place in the context of contemporary care chains.

Discussion: places of difference and their significance in Swiss live-in care

The previous three sections illustrated the ways in which the narratives of 'heart-felt warmth', 'ethnicisation', and 'female care migrants' mobilise care workers' characteristics, work, homes and mobility in relation to other places, and in so doing, as different to the place where the care takes place. In the following passage, I discuss how this particular framing underlies a number of fundamental inequities in Swiss live-in care which have been observed by critical scholars, institutions, and labour rights activists (Bundesrat, SECO, and WBF 2015; Truong 2015).

Conditions of work

Live-in care workers' lived experiences of everyday, 24-h care of elderly people have been reported in terms of irregular conditions of work including long and unclear working hours, little or no privacy or break time, and psychological and physical overstrain (Schilliger 2013). As it takes place in the private household, their work is not protected by standard Swiss labour law (Bundesrat, SECO, and WBF 2015, 5). Care agencies' emphasis on origin-related 'heart-felt warmth' is a vital contribution to the perpetuation of these conditions. The related public discussion of care workers as warm 'angels from the East' (Jecker 2012) in the context of formalised employment relations has a strong impact on the valuation and recognition of live-in care. In particular the dis-articulation of care workers from Switzerland as observed in their interpellation as *female care migrants* and as discussed in the third use of 'ethnicisation' serves as a seemingly incontestable justification for paying lower wages to 24-h care workers. As such, the recurring stress on care workers' so-called origins mobilises an imaginary of other places, which provides the basis for a range of vague narratives of differentiation that support and justify a segmented labour market and problematic working conditions for live-in care workers. Place, in short, is evoked as a central means of differentiation in the intricate construction of a new elder care arrangement. Due to the equally underlying and explicit focus on place, this process goes beyond the notion of 'foreignness', which Anderson (2007, 254) observed to facilitate and legitimise the placement of 'foreign' domestic workers in Britain.

Borders, homes and families

Considering the gendered trajectories and the distances that women often travel for work (Hanson and Pratt 1988), it is crucial to take into account care workers' movements. However, the interpellation of live-in care workers as *female care migrants* emphasises their mobility in highly critical discussions of

24-h care's limitations. In the context of a tense political climate in which Swiss citizens voted to 'stop mass immigration' (see Abberger et al. 2014) in 2014, this emphasis on care workers' places of origin and their 'migration' might contribute to already heated Europe-wide debates on work and mobility. As the term *Care-Migrantin* frames care workers as primarily migrants, it articulates these anxieties around migration and potential immigration to Switzerland, and ultimately contributes to a national (or sub-national) discourse that steers towards what Massey (1994, 146) would call a 'self-closing' sense of place that is 'defensive' rather than 'outward-looking'.

Moreover, aspects of care, migration, gender and mobility intersect in contemporary care chains (Hanson 2010; Yeoh and Ramdas 2014). The discourse's pronounced singular focus on 'migration' thus offers only a small glimpse into a complex issue. When looking closer, we can see that while the term *Care-Migrantin* foregrounds care workers' trans-border movement from one place to another, many women actually take up work in a Swiss household in order to support a family elsewhere. We can see this in journalists' and scholars' stories of individual care workers or references to 'typical' circumstances of *Care-Migration* in their respective publications (e.g. Engert 2014, 71). Workers' trajectories and motivations are often related to the need or desire to increase the familial income in order to support their children's education or guarantee a particular standard of living (see Schilliger 2014, 203–239). In this sense, their readiness to move back and forth in order to financially support their family points to the underlying importance of gendered ideas and norms regarding family roles and responsibilities, and struggles around social re-production in care chains (Baldassar 2007; Pratt 2010).

Furthermore, the observation that care workers' motivation to undertake live-in care abroad is not necessarily based on the wish to acquire a new home in a different place but to preserve an already existing home-place (Odehnal and Cluc 2013), has implications for how we understand place. While care workers' regular, short-term movements do not fundamentally challenge national borders (see Pratt and Yeoh 2003, 159), both their movements and lived spatialities of 'here' and 'there' (Vaiou 2012, 249) complicate notions of place in contemporary care chains. While the home-place has been the subject of more complex conceptualisation (see also Morokvasic 1994), there is much scope to further explore and conceptualise the discursively Othered places which are at the heart of place-focused differentiation.

Places of 'difference' in contemporary care chains: theoretical aspects

We have seen that the three narratives mobilise other places in relation to care workers and particular characteristics, and as discreet, distant loci. Regarding the former, other places are evoked in order to justify or explain a number of inequalities inherent in the current practices of 24-h care. For example, drawing on the notion of 'ethnicisation', the literature explains low pay in live-in care as the result of care workers' linking to other places. Associated historical and emerging ideas about these places then work to make sense of care workers. Already in 1994, Doreen Massey pointed to the importance of disrupting imaginaries, which hold places and communities as 'coterminous' (1994, 146). Since Swiss live-in care, like other contemporary care chains, is marked with a range of inequities, which are based on place-focused differentiation, it is particularly important to investigate further the simple link of place and people, including their characteristics and culture. The Swiss live-in discourse, however, indicates a complex dynamic in which a range of narratives re-articulates this link. For example, care worker's ascribed 'warmth' is often re-presented as a desirable and distinctive attribute and also appropriated as such by some care workers themselves as they negotiate their work and voice pride and contentment in it (cf. Schilliger 2014, 240–243; see also Meintel, Fortin, and Cognet 2006). As the discourse's evocation of care workers' difference in relation to other places is not seen as necessarily problematic, place and people are discursively interwoven in ever-novel ways.

We have also seen how the discourse distances places which are on one care chain. In particular, the public discourse's language of *female care migrants* creates space between places of home and work, and thus dis-articulates care workers form Switzerland. In praxis, they are often not really visible during the periods of hard work in Swiss households. Care agencies or labour market intermediaries thus often remain the only formal connection between otherwise distinctly disconnected places. This

means that the places of difference in live-in care articulate a highly complex notion of the Other place. While it is difficult to theoretically account for this complex development, the concurrent distancing between places raises a number of issues of justice and inequities in live-in care and multi-local care chains more generally, which call for continued critical feminist investigation.

The power of discursively mobilising difference: conclusions and outlook

This paper explored three central narratives in the Swiss-German discourse on private live-in elder care: agencies' attribution of a particular 'heart-felt warmth' to mobile care workers, the literature's discussion of underlying processes of place-focused differentiation in terms of 'ethnicisation', and the interpellation of care workers as 'female care migrants' in public discussions. In attributing particularly caring characteristics to women from other places, the narratives Other these places as *places of difference*. The framing of care workers' circular mobility as *Care-Migration* locates care workers at their homes or places of origin and thus fundamentally dis-locates them from their places of work. The narratives' articulations have powerful effects both on care workers and on how we understand the different places on one care chain, including the relationships between them. Considering the ways in which notions of the Other place implicitly justify and contribute to the continued tolerance of low pay and problematic (to date, largely unregulated) working conditions, the paper argued that the discursive mobilisation of other places is of underlying significance for the perpetuation of fundamental inequities in Swiss 24-h care.

As borders are redrawn with renewed severity and care chains become increasingly intricate, tracing the ways in which notions of place operate as complex but central markers of difference will continue to be an important endeavour within feminist geographies of paid care. In this context, the paper's analysis draws attention to the power of words – for ultimately, the way in which we talk about places contributes to imaginaries about, and hence our relationships with, these places.

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Notes on contributor

Katharina Pelzelmayer is interested in gender theories of power, feminist epistemology, bodies, and women's health. She currently explores these topics in research on the concept of work in 24-hour elder care in Switzerland.

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Paper 2

Caring, working, moving bodies: Subjektivierung und Körper in der Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung

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Caring, Working, Moving Bodies: Subjectivation and Bodies in Swiss 24-Hour Care

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Caring, working, moving bodies: Subjektivierung und Körper in der Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung

Einleitung

Die Körperlichkeit von Machtverhältnissen ist ein zentrales Thema in soziologischer und feministischer Forschung (Frost, 2001; Turner, 1996; Villa, 2010). So postuliert Michel Foucault (2013, p. 77) in seinen viel rezipierten Gedanken zu „Macht und Körper", dass „tatsächlich [...] nichts materieller, nichts physischer, körperlicher als die Ausübung der Macht" sei. Denn Machtverhältnisse werden in Form von Selbstdisziplinierung durch gleichmässig körperliche und geistige Selbst-Kontrolle und -Optimierung internalisiert und einverleibt. Feministische Forschung untersucht die vergeschlechtlichten Modalitäten und Parameter, sowie die Herausbildung von Subjekten (Braidotti, 1994; Code, 1993; Pratt, 1999) in Machtverhältnissen (Longhurst, 2005).

Dieses Kapitel ergründet Fragen der Macht und des Körpers in einem nennenswert Körper-betonten, machtumwobenen Feld: der Sorge (Fine, 2005). Ich beziehe mich im Besonderen auf die individuelle Seniorenbetreuung in der Schweiz. Die sogenannte 24-Stunden-Betreuung stellt ein hochaktuelles Beispiel verkörperter Machtverhältnisse dar, da sie auf der Anwesenheit und Sorgearbeit bestimmter Körper beruht. In ihrer momentanen Praxis sind dies primär Frauenkörper von ausserhalb der Schweiz. Die Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung eröffnet somit eine Gelegenheit, kontemporäre Körper-Macht-Dynamiken zu erforschen. Dies ist wichtig, da Foucault (2013, p. 77) betont, es gelte „zu untersuchen, welchen Körper die derzeitige Gesellschaft braucht". Einem feministischen Interesse an vergeschlechtlichten Machtverhältnissen verpflichtet, legt dieses Kapitel den Fokus auf die Körper der Betreuenden. Es richtet den analytischen Blick auf die drei Herzstücke der 24-Stunden-Betreuung: der Sorge, Arbeit und grenzüberschreitenden Bewegungen der Betreuenden. Es erkundet, wie die Betreuungskräfte in den reiterativen (sich wiederholenden) Performanzen des Sorgens, Arbeitens und Pendelns zu einem besonderen Subjekt werden (Colls, 2007). Ich benenne dieses Subjekt „24-Stunden-Betreuerin".

Die Abhandlung dieses Kapitels basiert auf einer theoretisch ausgerichteten Analyse des Diskurses zur 24-Stunden-Betreuung in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz. Mediale, wissenschaftliche und öffentliche Beiträge, sowie die Websites der Betreuungs-Agenturen stellen die zentralen Ebenen des Diskurses dar und wurden im Zuge eines Schweizer National Fonds-

Projektes zwischen September 2013 und 2015 intensiv beobachtet. Die Websites sind von besonderer Bedeutung, da die Betreuungs-Dienstleistungen lange Zeit hauptsächlich auf Websites konkret besprochen und ausformuliert werden.

Die Analyse der diskursiven Artikulationen wurde inspiriert von auf Laclaus und Mouffes „Diskurs-theoretischer Analytik" und Foucaults „theoretischer Analytik" (Torfing, 1999, p. 12), sowie Erkenntnissen aus neu-materialistischer, feministischer und post-strukturalistischer Forschung zu Körper, Materialität und Geschlecht (Hird, 2009; Van der Tuin, 2010). Jene zeigen, wie sich Sprache und Diskurs mit Aspekten des Körperlichen und der Materialität gegenseitig ergänzen (Angermüller & Van Dyk, 2010).

Das Kapitel beginnt mit einem Überblick über die Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung. Abschnitt zwei und drei präsentieren den theoretischen Baukastens und die methodologische Vorgehensweise. In, den Abschnitten vier bis sechs diskutiere ich dann vertieft, wie sich das Subjekt 24-Stunden-Betreuerin im Sorgen (*caring*), Arbeiten (*working*) und Pendeln (*moving*) hervorbringt (materialisiert). In Abschnitt sieben führe ich meine Analyse auf zentrale Körpertheorieaspekte zurück und ziehe die Formulierung des Begriffes Körper-Subjekt in Erwägung. Durch diese Formulierung sucht dieses Kapitel, einen feministischen Beitrag zu kritischen Konzeptualisierungen des Körperbegriffes in der Körper-Macht-Debatte zu leisten. Wie ich im Ausblick darlege, kann das Körper-Subjekt Anwendung in einer Reihe kritischer Disziplinen und Debatten finden.

1. Die private 24-Stunden-Betreuung in der Schweiz

24-Stunden-Betreuung: vergeschlechtlichte, politische Grenzen überschreitende Sorgearbeit

Vor allem in den deutschsprachigen Gebieten der Schweiz hat sich in den letzten Jahren ein besonderes Modell der privaten Seniorenbetreuung etabliert. Es wird von privatwirtschaftlichen, nicht-gemeinnützigen Agenturen mit Kontakten ausserhalb der Schweiz vorangetrieben. Diese Agenturen bieten älteren, jedoch nicht zwingendermassen (schwer)kranken Menschen individuelle 24-Stunden-Betreuung im eigenen Privathaushalt an (Truong et al., 2012). Die verschiedenen Angebote werden den Senior_innen und ihren Familien oft über das Internet gemacht und beinhalten je nach Agentur und Ausrichtung entweder hauptsächlich betreuerische Tätigkeiten, oder auch pflegerische und hauswirtschaftliche Dienstleistungen (Eggenberger, 2013; Regierungsrat Kanton Schwyz, 2016). 24-Stunden-Betreuung wird momentan

hauptsächlich von grenzüberschreitend pendelnden Frauen aus der Slowakei, Ungarn, Polen und den sogenannten neuen deutschen Bundesländern verrichtet (Schilliger, 2014, p. 139). Wie die bestehende Literatur bereits ausführlich diskutiert hat, sind Geschlecht und Herkunftsorte der Betreuenden zentrale Aspekte der 24-Stunden-Betreuung (Schwiter et al., 2014). Obwohl also primär Frauen diesen Beruf ausführen, spreche ich in meinen Deskriptionen nicht nur von Betreuerinnen, sondern auch von Betreuenden und Betreuungspersonen. Dies dient einerseits der begrifflichen Abgrenzung von Deskription und Analyse, welche verdeutlichen möchte, dass die starke diskursiv-praktische Gewichtung von Geschlecht und Herkunftsorten der Betreuungspersonen massgeblich an ihrer Materialisierung zum verkörperten Subjekt „24-Stunden-Betreuerin" beiträgt.

Als vergleichsweise neues Arbeitsfeld hat die private 24-Stunden-Betreuung einiges an medialer und wissenschaftlicher Aufmerksamkeit auf sich gezogen (Schwiter et al., forthcoming). Erste wissenschaftliche Studien versuchten vor allem, eine umfassende Bestandsaufnahme dieses Betreuungsarrangements vorzunehmen (Schilliger, 2014; Truong et al., 2012). Schweizer Forschung hat bis dato hauptsächlich drei Perspektiven intensiver beleuchtet: jene der Betreuenden, jene der Betreuten und ihren Familienangehörigen, sowie jene der 24-Stunden-Betreuung als neuem privatwirtschaftlichen Arbeitsmarkt. Übergreifend werden die folgenden drei Themen als zentrale Aspekte in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung diskutiert: erstens, die zirkuläre Arbeitsmigration in die Schweiz zur Verrichtung von Sorgearbeit (Greuter & Schilliger, 2010; Truong et al., 2012; Wigger et al., 2014); zweitens, die politisch-gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen in der Schweiz in der Organisation und Gestaltung der Betreuung von älteren Personen (Schwiter et al., 2014; Schwiter et al., 2015); und drittens, familien- und geschlechterpolitische Aspekte in der Betreuung von älteren Familienmitgliedern als Teil von Sorge oder reproduktiver (Haus-)Arbeit (Schilliger, 2009; Schwiter et al., 2014; Van Holten et al., 2013). Diese sprechen die verstrickten Aspekte der Bewegung (*moving*), der Formalisierung der Sorge und die damit verbundenen Arbeitsbedingungen (*working*) und der Re-Artikulation von Sorge als „herzliche" Dienstleistung beziehungsweise als Gut an (*caring*). Da jene sich stark auf die Materialisierung der Betreuenden als Körper-Subjekt 24-Stunden-Betreuerin auswirken, wird nun genauer auf diese Aspekte eingegangen.

Moving: Bewegung

Das Freizügigkeitsabkommen der Schweiz mit der Europäischen Union (EU) und der Europäischen Freihandelsassoziation (EFTA) gewährt den freien Personenverkehr, sowie die Dienstleistungs- und der Niederlassungsfreiheit zwischen EU-EFTA Mitgliedsstaaten und der Schweiz (Medici, 2011, 2012; Staatssekretariat für Migration, 2015). Seit 2011 gelten diese Statuten auch für Staatsangehörige der 2004 der EU beigetretenen Länder. Arbeitskräfte aus diesen Ländern können demnach für bis zu 90 Arbeitstage pro Jahr ohne Aufenthaltsbewilligung in der Schweiz als grenzüberschreitende Dienstleistungserbringende arbeiten (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 7). Schweizer Firmen haben diesen Umstand schnell aufgegriffen, um, wie es eine Agentur beschreibt, eine vergleichsweise „preiswerte", aber trotzdem „seriöse" und „legale" Betreuung anzubieten (Seniorhilfe Schweiz, 2015a). In der Praxis gestaltet sich dies folgendermassen: Eine Betreuungsperson wohnt für einen gewissen Zeitraum im Haushalt einer älteren Person in der Schweiz, um sie vor Ort zu betreuen. Generell erstreckt sich der Aufenthalt zwischen zwei und zwölf Wochen, in den meisten Fällen jedoch eher zwischen zwei und vier Wochen (Regierungsrat Kanton Schwyz, 2016, p. 2). Danach verlässt die Betreuungsperson wieder die Schweiz. Somit pendeln viele als 24-Stunden-Betreuende Tätige regelmässig über politische Grenzen. In der deutschsprachigen Literatur wird diese besondere Mobilität unter dem Begriff der „Pendelmigration" diskutiert (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b; Strüver, 2011, 2013; World Bank, 2007). Die Schweizer Forschung und Medien verwenden zusätzlich immer öfter den aus der Wissenschaft stammenden Begriff „Care-Migration" (Truong, 2015; Van Holten et al., 2013). Abschnitt sechs dieses Kapitels geht genauer auf die Bedeutung und Folgen dieser Benennung für Betreuende und ihre Materialisierung als 24-Stunden Betreuerin ein.

Working: Live-in Sorgearbeit

Die 24-Stunden-Betreuung zeichnet sich in der Regel durch ein besonderes Arbeitsarrangement aus, welches durch eine Kongruenz zwischen Arbeits- und Wohnort gekennzeichnet ist. 24-Stunden Betreuerinnen haben also – im Gegensatz zu anderen im Privathaushalt tätigen Arbeitskräften wie ambulanten oder mobilen Betreuenden – keinen eigenen separaten Wohnort. Deshalb werden sie oft als „live-in Betreuerinnen" oder einfach kurz „live-ins" bezeichnet (Schwiter & Berndt, 2015). *Live-in* wäre auf Deutsch etwa kohabitierend oder wohnhaft. Die 24-stündige Präsenz am Arbeitsplatz kann, wie berichtet wird, zu signifikanten Entgrenzungen

regulärer Arbeitszeiten führen (Respekt@VPOD, 2015; Schilliger, 2015). Da staatliche Regierungsinstanzen jedoch bis dato keine Definition der die 24-Stunden-Betreuung ausmachenden Tätigkeiten formuliert haben, ist es oft schwierig, eine Demarkation der eigentlichen Arbeit vorzunehmen (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 11). Sowohl eine genaue Definition als auch eine klare Abgrenzung zu anderen (hauswirtschaftlichen, sorgenden) Tätigkeiten sind jedoch notwendig, um einen umfassenderen arbeitsrechtlichen Schutz der Betreuenden zu gewähren (Medici, 2011). Bis dato werden Arbeitsverhältnisse im Privathaushalt jedoch nicht vom Schweizerischen Arbeitsrecht gedeckt (Medici, 2012). Abschnitt fünf analysiert daher, wie sich diese arbeitspraktischen Umstände in widersprüchlich-komplexe Materialisierungsmomente der Betreuenden als arbeitender Körper auswirken.

Caring: Sorge als Gut

Die unbezahlte Verrichtung von Sorge für alternde Angehörige ist oftmals nicht möglich, angebracht oder erwünscht (Van Holten et al., 2013). Gibt es keine Angehörigen in unmittelbarer Nähe, die Betreuungs- oder Pflegetätigkeiten übernehmen können, kann es gleichermassen nicht gewünscht sein, ein Alters- oder Pflegeheim aufzusuchen. In diesen Fällen wird zunehmend 24-Studnen-Betreuung in Anspruch genommen. Da in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung die Sorge für ältere Personen als bezahlte Arbeit beziehungsweise Dienstleistung gestaltet wird, diskutiert die Wissenschaft die möglichen Auswirkungen der Formalisierung, Bezahlung und Sichtbarmachung dieser Tätigkeit (Pelzelmayer, forthcoming). Es ist die Rede von Kommodifizierung (Bachinger, 2009; Lutz, 2010), Kommerzialisierung und eines neu entstehenden Sorge-Arbeitsmarktes (Truong et al., 2012). Da die Betreuerinnen das Herzstück der Seniorenbetreuung sind, wird die Definition 24-Stunden-Betreuung oft mit starkem Bezug auf Personae und Eigenschaften der Betreuenden verhandelt (Pelzelmayer, forthcoming; Schwiter et al., 2014). Die Analyse in Abschnitt vier diskutiert somit, wie sich die Betreuenden durch den starken diskursiven Fokus auf ihre verkörperlichten Eigenschaften und den damit verbundenen Praxen als sorgende Körper materialisieren.

2. Theoretische Ausführungen: Körper, Materialisierung und Macht

Alle Menschen sind Körper und treten mit den verschiedensten Körpern in Kontakt. Trotzdem bemerkt Butler (1993, p. 28), es sei für viele „schwierig, das Zeichen „Körper“ zu verstehen”[1]. Wie also begreifen wir Körper und wie können wir sie machttheoretisch fassen?

Um zu untersuchen, wie sich Betreuende zum Subjekt 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen werden und sich als solches materialisieren, bezieht sich die hier präsentierte Abhandlung auf Erkenntnisse aus feministischer und post-strukturalistischer Forschung zu Körper, Materialität und Geschlecht (Barad, 2003; Hird, 2003). Diese zeigen, wie sich Sprache, Diskurs und Aspekte des Körperlichen, der Materialität und Praxis gegenseitig ergänzen (Shepherd, 2006; Van der Tuin, 2010). Judith Butlers Arbeit ist von besonderer Relevanz hier. Die Quintessenz Butlers (1993) Arbeit ist, dass Körper nicht einfach nur fertige Materie sind, sondern entstehen, sich hervorbringen, sich herstellen. Frei übersetzt spricht Butler (1993, p. 9) von „einem Materialisierungsprozess, der sich über die Zeit hinweg stabilisiert und so den Effekt der Grenze, Beständigkeit und Fläche, welchen wir Materie nennen, erzeugt“[2]. Vergleichbar mit der Erde, welche sich, konträr zu subjektiver Wahrnehmung, in elliptischer Form ständig um die eigene Achse dreht, ist also der Körper als Fixes eine momentane Wahrnehmung eines andauernden Entstehungs-Prozesses. Für meine Analyse folge ich Butlers Verständnis, dass sich Körper ständig in Prozessen des Werdens befinden. Eine nennenswerte rezente Anwendung dieses Körper-Verständnisses ist Colls’ (2007) Analyse der Prozesse, durch welche sich dicke Körper aktiv als solche herstellen und nicht bloss so sind.
Dieses Verständnis beinhaltet die zentrale These, dass Körper kein mit einer simplen Definition beschreibbares, monolithisches Objekt seien und (gedanklich, konzeptueller) eindimensionaler Fassung widerstrebten (Butler, 1993, p. ix)[3]. Es stellt somit eine Einheit des Körpers als (passives) Objekt und seine Zuordnung zur Materie und der Biologie in Frage. Morgan, Brandth und Kvande (2005:4) bringen dies auf den Punkt; indem sie schreiben: „einfache Verständnisse ‚des Körpers’ scheinen oft stark individualisiert und mit der Biologie identifiziert.

[1] „difficult to know what to retrieve under the sign of „the body“. Alle Zitat-Übersetzungen frei durch die Verfasserschaft dieses Kapitels
[2] „process of materialization that stabilizes over time to produce the effect of boundary, fixity, and surface we call matter“
[3] „I could not fix bodies as simple objects of thought.“

Wir erkennen jedoch, dass jede Person der Ort mehrerer Körper sein kann – inklusive verschiedener medikalisierter, konsumierender und sexualisierter Körper, etc.“[4].

Diese Beobachtung illustriert die politische Brisanz der Sinngebung von Körpern ist. Der Miteinbezug von Machtverhältnissen in der Analyse von Materialisierungsprozessen ist somit zentral. Denn, wie Butler (1993, p. xi) es ausdrückt:. ‚Körper ent- und bestehen, leben also nur innerhalb [… gewisser] stark vergeschlechtlichter regulierender Ordnungsprinzipien“[5]. Butler spricht hier den beachtlichen Aufwand an, der in die Erzeugung und Aufrechterhaltung des Anscheins von fester geschlechtlicher, körperlicher Beständigkeit geht. Frei übersetzt schreibt Butler (1993, p. 2): die Beständigkeit des Körpers, seine Konturen und Bewegungen, ist voll und ganz materiell; die Materialität selbst ändert sich jedoch als Auswirkung der Macht, sie ist die produktivste Folge der Macht“[6].
Um diesen Anschein der Beständigkeit zu erzielen und aufrechtzuerhalten, braucht es Werkzeuge. Butler verweist hier auf Foucaults Begriff des regulierenden Ideals (*regulatory ideal),* welches Butler (ibid, p. 22) als „eine gewaltsame und unterscheidende Materialisierung von Körpern“[7] bezeichnet. Denn das regulierende Ideal ist eine kontextabhängige, normative Vorstellung, die die differentielle Materialisierung von Körpern beeinflusst. Es bring Körper „into being“ (hervor) und macht sie gesellschaftlich lesbar (legibel). Dies basiert auf der generelleren These, dass Körper nicht ausserhalb historisch spezifischer Vorstellungen von möglichen und verständlichen (intelligiblen) Körpern existieren (Butler, 2009).
Körper sind also immer an gewisse kontextspezifische regulierende Ideale (Normen) gebunden. Diese Normen gelten als produktiv, da sie auf die erschaffende Kraft von regulativen Idealen, Materialisierungs- und Subjektivierungsprozessen hinweisen. Sie beherrschen durch regulative Praxen die Körper, die sie gleichzeitig herstellen (Butler, 1993, p. 1)[8]. Andersrum gesehen kann auch gesagt werden, dass sich Körper für die Erfüllung gewisser Normen oder als Repräsentation der eigenen Identität (Bourdieu, 1979; Frost, 2001) materialisieren oder verändern.

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[4] “simple notions of ‘the body’ might seem to be over-individualised and perhaps over-identified with the biological. We recognise, from the outset, that any one individual might be the site of numerous bodies, including various medicalised bodies, consumer bodies, sexualised bodies and so on.”
[5] „bodies only appear, only endure, only live within the productive constraints of certain highly gendered regulatory schemes“
[6] „what constitutes the fixity of the body, its contours, its movements, will be fully material, but materiality will be rethought as the effect of power, as power’s most productive effect”
[7] „a forcible and differential materialization of bodies.“
[8] „produces the bodies it governs“

3. Methodologische Annäherungen an die Materialisierung betreuender Körper

Das Konzept des regulierenden Ideals ist von analytisch-methodologischer Bedeutung, da es die Ebenen der Norm und der konkreten Praxis einer gegebenen Norm (Regulierung) zusammendenkt. Diese Verbindung wird zum Beispiel in Diskursen zum Ausdruck gebracht. Für Butler (1993, p. 1)[9] sind Körper untrennbar von diskursiven Bezeichnungen und Artikulationen. Im Feld der 24-Stunden-Betreuung hat Weicht (2010b) einen direkten Zusammenhang der medial-diskursiven Konstruktion mobiler Betreuerinnen und ihrer praktischen Verkörperungen der „idealen Betreuerin" beobachtet.
Aufbauend auf diese Erkenntnisse habe ich eine theoretisch ausgerichtete Analyse des schweizerdeutschen Diskurses zur 24-Stunden-Betreuung durchgeführt. Die methodologische Herangehensweise ist im Grunde von Laclau und Mouffes „Diskurs-theoretischer Analytik" und Foucaults „theoretischer Analytik" (Torfing, 1999, p. 12) inspiriert. Interessant ist hier Foucaults (2013, p. 240) Ansatz der Subjektivierung durch Objektivierung. Dieser Ansatz erforscht, wie sich Subjekte in Prozessen der Objektivierung hervorbringen. Dieser Ansatz ermöglicht eine differenzierte, integrative Analyse von subjektivierenden und materialisierenden Momenten, welche verkörperte Machtbeziehungen in Studien des zum-Subjekt-Werdens analytisch sichtbar macht.

Umgesetzt wurden die angeführten theoretischen und methodologischen Ansätze mit einem analytischen Fokus auf den formell-strukturellen und diskursiven Kontext, sowie der alltäglichen Praxis der Betreuung. Letztere stellt sich aus den reiterativen Performanzen des Sorgens, der ständigen Arbeit-Präsenz und des internationalen Pendelns zusammen. Da sie sich immer wieder wiederholen**,** können sie in ihrer Subversion Machtstrukturen, in welchen Menschen zu gewissen Subjekten werden, sichtbar machen (Crenshaw, 1989, pp. 139-157; Valentine, 2007, pp. 10-21). Der strukturelle Kontext ist die Basis dieser reiterativen Performanzen. Er stellt sich vor allem aus der Art und Weise der vermarktenden Beschreibung der 24-Stunden-Betreuung, den arbeitsrechtlichen und migrationspolitischen Rahmenbedingungen, als auch der Berichterstattung über die 24-Stunden-Betreuung zusammen. In diesem Sinne wurden in meiner Beobachtung des deutschschweizerischen Diskurs rund um die 24-Betreuung zwischen

[9] „indissociable from discursive demarcations"

September 2013 und September 2015 vor allem Beiträge staatlicher Organisationen wie des Schweizerischen Bundesrates, wissenschaftliche Publikationen und journalistische Reportagen, sowie die online-Artikulationen der Anbieter berücksichtigt.

Websites stellen einen wichtigen Teil des empirischen Materials dar, da Betreuungs-Agenturen nicht nur Vermittlerinnen, sondern auch Gestalterinnen von Modell, Markt und Arbeitsbedingungen in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung sind (Schwiter et al., 2014). Der Marktplatz für private 24-Stunden-Betreuungsdienste befindet sich hauptsächlich *online*. Interessenten können so mittels Suchmaschine einfach und jederzeit auf die Websites, welche 24-Stunden-Dienste anbieten oder vermitteln, zugreifen. Vergleichs- und Marktportale vereinfachen dies weiter. Da es bis dato keine anerkannte Definition der 24-Stunden-Betreuung gibt, ist die inhaltliche Gestaltung der Anbieter-Websites (Beschreibung und Darstellung der Dienstleistungen, die Agenturen anbieten) massgebend in der Aushandlung der genauen Bedeutung von 24-Stunden-Betreuung. In diesem Sinne wurden rund vierzig in diesem Zeitraum aktive Websites von Anbietern sogenannter 24-Stunden-Betreuungsdienste in die Analyse miteinbezogen. Tochterzweige von Franchiseunternehmen ohne eigene Website und nicht verifizierbare Anbieter von ausserhalb der Schweiz wurden nicht speziell berücksichtigt. Die diskursanalytische Auswertung der Website-Daten erfolgte in einem mehrstufigen Verfahren. Nach einer Erfassung der Anbieter durch Überprüfung bekannter Agenturen und weiteren Suchvorgängen über die Suchmaschine www.google.ch, wurden die öffentlichen Daten der Websites extrahiert. Diese setzen sich aus sprachlichen Elementen der Beschreibung und Vermarktung der Dienstleistung und aus visuellen Aspekten der Website-Gestaltung zusammen. Mithilfe des Programmes *MAXQDA* wurden die Daten in zwei Stufen systematisiert und kodiert. Die erste ist angelehnt an den Aufbau der meisten Anbieterwebsites. Diese besteht in der Regel aus Rubriken wie *Unser Angebot, Leistungen, Was ist 24-Stunden-Betreuung?, Über uns/Team, Kosten, Wer betreut mich?, Ablauf, Häufige Fragen, Rechtliche Hinweise,* etc. In einer zweiten Runde wurden spezifischere, auf die Forschungsfragen abgestimmte Codes geschaffen (Strauss, 1990). Diese Codes zeigen gewisse Muster oder gemeinsame Narrative in der Beschreibung und Darstellung von zentralen Aspekten der 24-Stunden-Betreuung. Dies ermöglichte die strukturelle Analyse der Formulierung und Vermittlung ihrer Bedeutung, oder der „Konstitution von Sinn", wie Helfferich (2005, p. 20) dies nennt. Die Analyse der agentureigenen Beschreibung ihrer Angebote bringt somit die Aushandlung der Bedeutung der

24-Stunden-Betreuung zum Ausdruck. Ihre Relevanz drückt sich vorrangig in ihrer Auswirkung auf die gelebte Praxis der 24-Stunden-Betreuung und der Verkörperung des Subjektes der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin aus.
In die Analyse miteinbezogen wurden neben den Beiträgen der Anbieter auch die medialen und wissenschaftlichen Beiträge, öffentlichen Diskussionen und staatlich-institutionellen Berichte, welche den Diskurs mit-begründen. Wie die Website-Daten wurden sie in Online-Recherchen erfasst und dann als Diskursstränge gefasst und analysiert.
Dieses Kapitel diskutiert in den folgenden drei Abschnitten die zentralen Diskursstränge der jeweiligen Diskursebenen. Dies sind die sorgende „Herzlichkeit" auf Anbieter-Websites, die Erwartung einer „rundum" Betreuung im live-in Arrangement und die damit verbundene komplexe Aushandlung der Arbeitspraxis und den Arbeitsbedingungen, sowie die Darstellung der Betreuenden auf den öffentlich-wissenschaftlichen Diskursebenen als „Care-Migrantinnen". In der Abhandlung der zentralen Diskursstränge arbeite ich heraus, wie sich die Betreuenden im reiterativen sich Sorgen (*caring*), Arbeiten (*working*) und sich Bewegen (*moving*) zum Subjekt der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin materialisieren.

4. *Caring*: Sorgende Körper

Auf Anbieter-Websites werden 24-Stunden-Betreuerinnen vor allem als sorgende Körper, die sich selbstlos, vielleicht gar aufopferungsvoll um andere Körper kümmern, dargestellt. Das heisst, Agenturen beschreiben die von Betreuenden verrichteten Tätigkeiten durch zugeschriebene, auf den Körper fokussierte Eigenschaften. Die Anbieter-Diskursstränge der Kompatibilität und der Herzlichkeit sind von besonderer Bedeutung für die Materialisierungsprozesse der Betreuerinnen als sorgende Körper.

Anbieter-Websites stellen sich gerne in einem stark professionalisierten Lichte dar (get care, 2014). Teilaspekt dieses Vorhabens ist der Diskursstrang der Kompatibilität. Er bezieht sich auf die Idee der guten Vereinbarkeit oder des bestmöglichen Zusammenpassens von betreuender und zu betreuender Person. Ausgedrückt wird er oft durch die Versicherung der „Berücksichtigung der Individualität jedes Einzelnen [Betreuungsbedürftigen]" (Daheim 24, 2015). So schreibt eine Agentur (Daheim am Besten, 2015) zum Beispiel, es stünde in ihren Betreuungsverhältnissen „[d]er Mensch im Mittelpunkt". Unter dieser Überschrift wird dann ausgeführt, auf wen sich der Begriff des Menschen bezieht: „Die persönlichen Bedürfnisse

unserer Kunden stehen bei uns im Mittelpunkt“ (Daheim am Besten, 2015). Es scheint der Anspruch zu bestehen, „den Bedürfnissen von Patienten und Angehörigen möglichst gut gerecht zu werden“ (Private Care, 2015). Teil, beziehungsweise Kehrseite dieses Anspruchs ist, dass das Betreuungsverhältnis bei Unzufriedenheit auch jederzeit einseitig gekündigt werden kann. Das Schlagwort hier ist die richtige „Chemie“ zwischen der betreuenden und der betreuten Person. Wie eine Agentur (Seniorhilfe Schweiz, 2015b) ausführt: „wenn man 24 Stunden jeden Tag zusammen lebt/wohnt, muss einfach die zwischenmenschliche Chemie stimmen“. Ist dies nicht (mehr) der Fall, erklärt eine weitere Agentur (GETcare, 2015) in der Rubrik: „Qualitätssicherung: Schneller Austausch der Betreuungskräfte, sollte die Chemie mal nicht stimmen“. Die Kompatibilität kann somit schnell die Form der Austauschbarkeit annehmen. Dies ist interessant für Diskussionen bezüglich der (Um-)Gestaltung von Sorge in eine Dienstleistung oder sogar Ware. Die Austauschbarkeit, auch Fungibilität genannt, ist ein zentrales Kriterium sowohl des Objektivierungs- als auch des Kommodifizierungskonzeptes (Phillips, 2013, p. 27). Attestiert man eine grundlegende Austauschbarkeit der Betreuerinnen, so würde dies in den Konzepten Objektivierung und Kommodifizierung widerhallen.
Sorge und Verantwortung werden aus feministischer Perspektive jedoch oft als „relational“ verstanden (Raghuram, 2012; Raghuram et al., 2009). Das heisst, dass sich ein Betreuungsverhältnis aus der Beziehung der betreuenden und der betreuten Person zusammensetzt. Sorge ist somit kein einseitiges Verhältnis – beide Menschen sind Teil der Betreuungsbeziehung und tragen zu einem gewissen Masse Verantwortung für einander. Dieser Relationalitäts-Aspekt von Sorge wird sowohl in der einseitigen Darstellungen der „Kompatibilität“, als auch Kritiken der Kommodifizierung etwas unterschlagen.

Der im Kompatibilitäts-Diskurs enthaltene Aspekt der Austauschbarkeit übt Druck auf die Betreuenden in Bezug auf ihre Verhaltensweisen aus. Dieser Druck kommt besonders im Anbieter-Diskurs zum Ausdruck. Vermehrt weisen Agenturen auf ihren Websites auf „Herz und Hingebung“ (GETcare, 2014) der Betreuerinnen hin, indem sie jene als „herzlich“ (HausPflegeService, 2014) und als von sich aus besonders „freundlich und aufopferungsvoll“ (ElternCare, 2014a) bezeichnen. Begleitet werden diese Aussagen von freundlichen Bildern, die glückliche Senior_innen und engagiert lächelnde Betreuerinnen zeigen. Die vermeintliche besondere, intrinsisch motivierte „Herzlichkeit“ der Betreuerinnen wird in Referenz zu ihrem

Geschlecht und ihren Erfahrungen aus unbezahlter oder bezahlter Sorgetätigkeiten dargestellt (siehe auch Schwiter et al., 2014).
Der springende Punkt hier ist, dass die Artikulation einer Dienstleistung durch die diskursive Beschwörung der besonderen Herzlichkeit, Aufopferungsbereitschaft und Hingabe der bezahlten Arbeitskraft über eine Marketing-Strategie hinausgeht. Die Artikulation der 24-Stunden-Betreuung durch zugeschriebene, verkörperte Eigenschaften der Betreuerinnen kann sich auf die Materialisierungsprozesse der Betreuenden zum Subjekt 24-Stunden –Betreuerin auswirken. Die Kraft dieser Artikulation zeigt sich darin, dass sie sich in konkrete Erwartungen und Forderungen bezüglich eines freundlichen Auftrittes, sorgender Eigenschaften und herzlicher Verhaltensweisen der Betreuerinnen übersetzt (vgl. Weicht, 2010a).

Die volle Kraft dieser Erwartungen zeigt sich im Zusammenspiel des Kompatibilitäts- und Herzlichkeits-Diskurses. Der Nachdruck, mit dem auf die Wichtigkeit der Kompatibilität, sprich Anpassungsfähigkeit, der Betreuenden hingewiesen wird, unterstreicht dies, da eine Betreuende, die „nicht passt", dies vor allem nicht in Bezug auf die Legibilitätsschablone der hingabevollen Betreuerin tut. Der Kompatibilitäts-Diskurs hat gezeigt, dass dies für jene möglicherweise den sofortigen Verlust des Arbeitsplatzes bedeutet. Daher ist vorstellbar, wie sich dieser Druck, Vorstellungen der herzlichen Betreuerin zu entsprechen bereits von Vornhinein im Auftritt und der Verhaltensweise einer Betreuenden auswirken kann (siehe auch Schilliger, 2014, p. 243). Dies passiert von Vornhinein, da Betreuerinnen sich teilweise selbst als (besonders) herzliche 24-Stunden Betreuerinnen positionieren (Pelzelmayer, forthcoming, p. 17ff). Dies bringt die Kraft der Herzlichkeits- und Kompatibilitäts-Diskurse besonders zum Ausdruck. Diese Diskurse produzieren – um mit Foucault und Butler (siehe oben) zu sprechen – in einem gewissen Masse die Körper, die sie dann auch durch das (sich darin stets re-generierende) Ideal der sich aufopfernden Betreuerin regulieren. Dieses Ideal übersetzt sich in beträchtliche Erwartungen in Bezug auf die Praxis des Sorgens.

Die tägliche Verrichtung der Betreuung im Privathaushalt der betreuten Person wird in gewisser Weise in den *online* Beschreibungen von 24-Stunden-Betreuungs-Dienstleistungen vorausgesehen. Diese diskursive Vorhersehung der täglichen sorgenden Praxis effektuiert die sorgende Materialisierung von Betreuenden. In der Rubrik *unsere Betreuerinnen* schreibt eine Agentur:

> "Unsere Haushalthilfen kommen aus Ungarn und werden durch uns vor Ort gesucht, in Deutsch geschult und über Bräuche und Sitten in der Schweiz informiert. Wenige von Ihnen beherrschen die deutsche Sprache so gut, dass man mit Ihnen eine grössere Konversation führen könnte. Sie kennen die gängigsten deutschen Begriffe des Haushalts, zum Einkaufen und zur Verständigung des Wohlbefindens des Kunden. [...] Die Ungaren sind von allen Oststaaten Mitarbeitern die, die unserer Mentalität am nächsten sind um am wenigsten Umstellung benötigen. Sie sind sehr aufopfernd und haben auch ein hohes Ethikgefühl, das dem unseren sehr nahe kommt. Dadurch bringen sie ein hohes Verantwortungsgefühl mit. Sie integrieren sich sehr schnell in Ihren Haushalt." (ElternCare, 2014b. Fehler im Original.)

Dieser Auszug einer Anbieter-Website spricht die grundlegende Dynamik der Materialisierung der sorgenden Betreuerin in der sorgenden Praxis an. Er ist Teil eines Diskurses, der eine (besonders) herzliche Sorge der Betreuenden beschwört, indem er sie in Bezug zu gewissen Orten stellt. Im oben angeführten Beispiel sind dies „die Oststaaten" generell und Ungarn im Besonderen. Diese Orte werden wiederum an gewisse Konnotationen und Moralvorstellungen geknüpft. Ihre Nennung erzielt somit eine diskursive Dissoziation der Betreuerinnen vom Kulturkreis Schweiz und eine national-staatlich gebundene, kulturelle Differenzierung alltäglicher Praxen des Kochens, der Umgangsformen, der Sauberkeitsnormen, der Sprache und Ähnlichem (siehe Schwiter et al., 2014). Beide ermöglichen die Zuschreibung von besonderer Herzlichkeit im Sinne eines geschlechternormativen Werteverständnisses, welches unter anderem die Sorge für die Familie und den Haushalt (durch Frauen) angeblich stärker gewichtet. Der Verweis im Zitat auf eine konkrete Schulung der (zukünftigen) Betreuerinnen in „Schweizer Bräuchen und Sitten" macht die In-Wertsetzung dieser Differenzierung deutlich. Die Idee der Schulung illustriert den praktischen Prozess der Formung, Herstellung – der Materialisierung – der Betreuerin als sorgenden Körper in seiner vielleicht offensichtlichsten Form. Nach Aufnahme in den Katalog von Betreuerinnen der Vermittlungs- oder Rekrutierungs-Agenturen und Auswahl für ein konkretes Betreuungsarrangement, ist die Schulung der erste sichtbare praktische Schritt in der Materialisierung des sorgenden Körpers. Das dort vermittelte Wissen wird dann im Haushalt angewandt und beinhaltet unter anderem das Kochen von „Schweizer" Gerichten, Deutsch beziehungsweise Schweizerdeutsch zu verstehen und zu sprechen (Home Instead, 2016), sich den Gepflogenheiten der Betreuten im weitesten Sinne anzupassen und dem herrschenden „Hausbrauch" klar zu folgen. Das heisst, die herzliche Betreuerin materialisiert sich nach aussen hin in der grösstmöglichen Anpassung an die

verschiedenen Bräuche und Gepflogenheiten am Arbeitsplatz. Dies stellt eine Disziplinierung der Betreuerinnen dar, welche gewisse Hierarchien (wieder-)herstellt (Liang, 2011). Diese Praxis erinnert an die gezielte Schulung von zukünftigen Langzeit-Haushaltsangestellten aus den Philippinen als Vorbereitung für ihren Einsatz im Ausland. Jene besuchen veritable Schulen, in denen sie die für sie „angebrachten" Verhaltensregeln in ihrem jeweiligen Einsatzland gelehrt werden, um jene dann genauestens verkörpern zu können (Debonneville, 2014). In diesem Kontext betrifft dies vordergründig Erwartungen der lächelnden Unterwürfigkeit (*docility*) in der täglichen Verrichtung ihrer Sorgearbeit. Der springende Punkt ist also, dass die spezielle Durchführung alltäglicher Tätigkeiten wie des Kochens oder Putzens, Bedeutung in der Hervorbringung gewisser sorgender -und arbeitender- Körper hat (vgl. McDowell, 2009).

5. *Working*: Live-in, rund-um-die Uhr Sorgearbeit

Der Rahmen nationalstaatlich-kulturalisierter Differenz, den die Agentur-Websites um die Betreuerinnen als Sorge-Tragende ziehen, kommt auch in der Praxis der tagtäglichen Betreuungs*arbeit* zum Ausdruck. Die Betreuung wird als ein rund-um-die-Uhr Arbeitsverhältnis bezeichnet und diskutiert. Im live-in Arrangement erwirkt dies oft unklare Arbeitsbedingungen und eine schwierige Auseinanderhaltung von Frei-, Präsenz- und Arbeitszeit. Dieser Abschnitt beschäftigt sich mit der Materialisierung der 24-Stunden Betreuerin in der rund-um-die-Uhr Betreuungsarbeit.

Das Schlagwort 24-Stunden-Betreuung erweckt Erwartungen, dass Betreuerinnen wortwörtlich „rundum" (Seniorenfürsorge, 2015) für die zu betreuenden Personen da seien. Wie es eine Agentur (Heko Seniorenbetreuung, 2014) nennt: „Seniorenbetreuung – Tag und Nacht". Bezüglich der darin implizierten Arbeit nennen viele Agenturen ein grosses Angebot an verschiedenen Tätigkeiten, welche die Betreuenden je nach individuellem Bedürfnis leisten würden. So führt zum Beispiel eine Agentur (Daheim am Besten, 2015) in der Rubrik *Unsere Dienstleistungen* auf ihrer Website 14 verschiedene Tätigkeiten an - von „Unterstützung bei der Grundpflege: An- und Auskleiden, Aufstehen und ins Bett gehen, Mund-, Zahn-, Haar- und Körperpflege", über „Nachtdienst oder nächtliche Rufbereitschaft" bis hin zu „Arbeit im Garten". Das Zitat zeigt, dass die von den Agenturen im Rahmen der 24-Stunden-Betreuung angebotenen Tätigkeiten in vielen Fällen auch hauswirtschaftliche Arbeiten abdecken. Jedoch auch pflegerische Tätigkeiten: eine weitere Agentur (SEBT, 2015) wirbt: „24-Stunden-

Betreuung inklusive Pflege in den eigenen Wohnräumen". Somit bieten Agenturen oft Dienste an, die über die reine Betreuung und dem an sich bereits sehr breiten Spektrum der Sorge beziehungsweise der Sorgearbeit hinausgehen (siehe James, 1992; Thomas, 1993).

Die Frage, welche Arbeiten Teil der 24-Stunden-Betreuung sind, ist die zentrale Problematik der privat-wirtschaftlichen Gestaltung dieser Sorgearbeit (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 11). Denn trotz aller projizierter „Herzlichkeit" ist die Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung in der Regel eine bezahlte Dienstleistung in einem vertraglich geregelten Arbeitsverhältnis (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2016; Truong, 2015). Das bedeutet eine gewisse Formalisierung der Seniorenbetreuung. Viele Anbieter haben für die Arbeitsvermittlung oder den Personalverleih die nötigen Bewilligungen des Kantons oder des Staatssekretariates für Wirtschaft (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015a). In den meisten Fällen gibt es Verträge wie zum Beispiel einen Anstellungs- oder Einsatzvertrag. Den Betreuenden werden entweder direkt durch die Familien oder über die Agenturen Löhne ausbezahlt. Teilweise werden Sozialversicherungs- und Altersvorsorge-Beiträge einbezahlt.
Diese Formalisierungstendenzen in der Sorgearbeit bedeuten jedoch nicht unbedingt angemessene Arbeitsbedingungen. Aufgrund der fehlenden Unterstellung des Privathaushalts unter das Schweizer Arbeitsrecht besteht geringer arbeitsrechtlicher Schutz für im Haushalt Tätige (International Labour Organization, 2011; Schwager, 2012; Strohmeier Navarro Smith, 2010). Ausserdem sind die Gesundheitsversicherung und soziale Absicherung vieler Betreuenden ungeklärt, und die Entlohnung ist in vielen Fällen niedrig, da oft auf Sozialleistungen und Lohnniveau des sogenannten Herkunftslandes verwiesen wird und Beträge für Transport, Kost und Logis, etc. abgezogen werden (Eidgenössisches Department des Inneren, 2010, p. 13; Schwiter et al., 2014). Über dies hinaus bauen viele Betreuungsverhältnisse auf die bereits genannte Kompatibilität auf. Diese Umstände gestalten die 24-Stunden-Betreuung als prekäre Arbeit mit „geringer Arbeitsplatzssicherheit" (Truong, 2015, p. 82).

Der live-in Status der Betreuenden ist hier besonders zu beachten, da sich die damit verbundenen vielschichtigen Erwartungen wie der ständigen Bereitschaft in vielerlei Hinsicht auf die Betreuenden und ihre Handlungsräume auswirken. Als Ort der Zusammenkunft von „Arbeit, Leben und Körpern" (Fannin et al., 2014) stellt der live-in Status den Drehangelpunkt zwischen Arbeitsbedingungen und Lebensqualität dar. Der Anspruch der 24-Stunden Präsenz

und Verfügbarkeit kann zum einen zu einer relativen öffentlichen Unsichtbarkeit von 24-Stunden Betreuerinnen führen. Denn das oft intensive Arbeitspensum kann die Möglichkeiten einzelner Betreuenden, sich in der kurzen Zeit ihres Aufenthaltes in die umliegende Gesellschaft einzubringen, bedeutend einschränken (Pelzelmayer & Schwiter, 2015; Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 10). Dieser Umstand kann sich auf den emotionalen Aspekt des Zugehörigkeitsgefühls zum Kontext des Arbeitsortes auswirken (Chau et al., forthcoming, p. 10). Die räumliche Distanz zur eigenen Familie kann dies mitunter bekräftigen (ibid: 9. Siehe auch Pratt, 2010). Die mit der 24-Stunden-Betreuungs-Arbeit verbundenen Erwartungen und ihre live-in Organisation beeinflussen also die Möglichkeiten eines Körpers, sich während des Arbeitsaufenthaltes über die durch das live-in Modell bis zu einem gewissen Grade vorgegebenen Materialisierung als 24-Stunden-Betreuerin hinaus zu entwickeln. Konkret erzielt wird diese Beeinflussung der Materialisierungsmöglichkeiten und Handlungsräume (Lebensqualität) in der täglichen Durchführung der Betreuungs-Arbeit.

Arbeitsbedingungen und -zeiten sind hier ausschlaggebend (Truong, 2015, p. 82). Denn während die Anbieter mit den Schlagwörtern „24-Stunden“, „rundum“ oder „rund-um-die-Uhr Betreuung“ werben, sind ihre Aussagen zur genauen Arbeitszeit oft unkonkret, werden als je nach individuellem Fall aushandlungsbedürftig dargestellt, oder stehen im direkten Widerspruch zu den Erwartungen einer „rundum“ Betreuung. Sofern Agenturen auf diesen Punkt eingehen, versuchen sie den grösstmöglichen Interpretationsspielraum bezüglich der konkreten Arbeitszeit zu eröffnen. Eine Agentur (Mc Care, 2014) erläutert:

> „Das Konzept ist die flexible Arbeitszeit. ... Kein Mensch kann rund um die Uhr bzw. 24 Stunden arbeiten oder auch nur bereit sein dazu. Eine Studie hat gezeigt, dass Betreuerinnen in der 24h-Betreuung täglich durchschnittlich eine effektive Arbeitszeit von 7-8 Std. zu leisten haben“

Der Auszug aus der Website zeigt sehr deutlich, wie der Agenturdiskurs die Einhaltung der Arbeitszeiten und das Vermeiden von einer 24-stündigen Arbeit als Sache der Betreuungsperson abtut. Die Einhaltung von regulären Arbeitszeiten ist somit nicht von Vornhinein gegeben. Berichte über diese Problematik haben eine medial-öffentliche Diskussion über die Verbesserung der Arbeitsverhältnisse durch Regulierung angestossen (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015b, p. 10). Nebst der Inklusion des Privathaushaltes ins Arbeitsrecht und einer Definition der die 24-Stunden-Betreuung ausmachenden Tätigkeiten, werden vor allem eine

rechtlich begrenzte Arbeitsdauer und eine Sicherstellung der Unterscheidung zwischen Arbeits-, Frei- und Präsenzzeit in der Praxis diskutiert (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2016). Sowohl die Diskussion als auch die Versuche der Regulierung wirken sich auf die Materialisierung der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin aus (Bachinger, 2010; Schmid, 2009). Beobachtet werden kann dies in drei Anpassungsversuchen der 24-Stunden-Betreuungs-Praxis.

Der Versuch der Anpassung von Rechtsgrundlage und Praxis wird im Einsatz einzelner Betreuerinnen für die Besserung ihrer Arbeitsbedingungen deutlich. In Basel hat zum Beispiel eine Gruppe Betreuerinnen zusammen mit der Gewerkschaft im Service Public die Gruppe *RESPEKT@VPOD* gegründet und anhand einzelner Fälle die Vergütung von allen Arbeitsstunden inklusive der Präsenzzeit gerichtlich eingeklagt (Respekt@VPOD, 2015; Schilliger, 2015). Diese Handlungen sind eine direkte Herausforderung der arbeitstechnischen, -praktischen und -rechtlichen Umstände, welche ihre Subjektivierungs-Möglichkeiten jenseits jener der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin beeinflussen.

Eine weitere Umsetzung des Versuches der Arbeitszeitbegrenzung ist die Festlegung von maximalen Arbeitsstunden im Einsatz- oder Arbeitsvertrag der Betreuenden. Eine Kontrolle der Einhaltung dieser ist jedoch schwierig. Agenturen setzen demnach zum Beispiel auf definitorische Anpassungen der Arbeitspraxis. So unterscheidet ein in der Schweiz vertretenes globales Franchiseunternehmen nach eigenen Angaben mittlerweile in seinem Angebot zwischen „live-in“ und „24-Stunden“ Betreuung (Home Instead, 2016). Erstere umfasst eine live-in Betreuung von sieben-stündiger aktiver Arbeitszeit und dem Rest des Tages Bereitschaft. In der zweiten, auch „rund um die Uhr aktive Betreuung“ genannten Form, decken mehrere, sich im acht-Stunden Takt abwechselnde, aus der Umgebung stammende Betreuungspersonen den ganzen Tag ab.
Eine dritte, praktische Möglichkeit ist die genaue und regelmässige Dokumentation der verrichteten Tätigkeiten und Arbeitszeiten. Ähnlich der mobilen Dienste notieren 24-Stunden-Betreuende genau, was sie wann getan und wie lange sie gearbeitet haben. Die Dokumentation muss aber nicht zwingendermassen das tatsächliche Arbeitspensum widerspiegeln. Betreuerinnen unterliegen dem Erwartungsdruck der *24-Stunden*-Betreuung, welche Agenturen als weder dem Zeitdruck der Spital-externen Dienste noch der unpersönlichen Verrichtung von Tätigkeiten wie im Altersheim unterliegend bewerben. Präsenzzeit beziehungsweise Rufbereitschaft finden

keine besondere Beachtung in einer Dokumentation der Arbeit. Die effektive Arbeitszeit ist in der Praxis also schwer von aussen überprüf- und regulierbar.

Die Materialisierung des arbeitenden Körpers ist somit ambivalent. Sie beinhaltet sowohl den Körper, an dem die Kontinuierlichkeit der rund-um-die-Uhr Bereitschaft, Präsenz und Tätigkeit zehrt, als auch jenen, der laut Dokumentationsformular der verrichteten Tätigkeiten nur eine gewisse Anzahl an Stunden wirklich gearbeitet hat. Diese widersprüchliche Gleichzeitigkeit ist ein interessanter Moment in der Materialisierung der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin. Er macht das machtumwobene Ringen um die Materialisierung von Körpern sichtbar. Er bringt uns auch zum dritten umkämpften Moment der Materialisierung der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin.

6. *Moving*: Die „Care-Migrantin"

Abschnitt vier besprach die starke Gewichtung von Herkunft und die Hervorhebung von nationalstaatlichem und kulturellem Kontext zur Differenzierung der Betreuerinnen als besonders herzlich. Ihre Bereitschaft zur Mobilität stellt die Grundlage der 24-Stunden-Betreuung in ihrer momentanen Durchführung dar. Dieser Abschnitt analysiert in diesem Kontext, wie diskursive Benennungsprozesse dieser Mobilität als „Care-Migration" zu besonders subjektivierenden Materialisierungsprozessen der Betreuerinnen als „Care-Migrantinnen" führen.

Die Schweizer 24-Stunden-Betreuung zeichnet sich durch die europaweite Rekrutierung von meist weiblichen Arbeitskräften und den relativ langen Arbeitswegen der Betreuerinnen bei einem vergleichsweise kurzen Aufenthalt aus. Die kurze Aufenthaltsdauer, sowie die regelmässige und oft organisierte Mobilität sind weiter nennenswert. In vergleichbaren Kontexten der grenzüberschreitenden Sorge- beziehungsweise Haus-Arbeit kommen die Sorge-Arbeiterinnen manchmal nicht unbedingt auf regulärem Wege ins Arbeitsland und bleiben tendenziell für längere Zeiträume oder permanent (Baldassar, 2007). Aus diesem Grund wird versucht, mit dem Begriff der „Pendelmigration" (Strüver, 2013) diese vergeschlechtlichte, regelmässige, politische Grenzen überschreitende, arbeitsmotivierte Mobilität zu fassen. Das Englische Pendant, *circular migration* weist vielleicht sogar noch stärker auf den Kreislauf der steten Hin- und Her-Bewegung der Betreuenden hin (Triandafyllidou, 2010). In ihrer momentanen Form basiert die 24-Stunden-Betreuung also auf der Bereitschaft von weiblichen Arbeitskräften,

(wiederholt) für einen gewissen Zeitraum in die Schweiz zur Verrichtung von Sorgearbeit zu reisen. Der dritte Moment der Materialisierung der 24-Stunden Betreuerin findet somit im Zuge der regelmässigen Pendelmigration der Betreuenden statt. Das wiederholte Pendeln, der migrations-politische Kontext, sowie der öffentliche Diskurs über die „Care-Migrantin" stellen diesen Moment zusammen.

Die wiederholte Performanz des grenzüberschreitenden Pendelns stellt einen besonders kraftvollen und sichtbaren Materialisierungsmoment dar. In jedem Pendelzug und jedem Überschreiten politischer Grenzen kristallisiert sich ein mobiler Körper zur 24-Stunden-Betreuerin. Die von der Schweizer Forscherin Jasmine Truong wissenschaftlich geleitete SRF-Dokumentation „Hilfe aus dem Osten: Pflegemigrantinnen in der Schweiz" (SRF DOK, 2013). begleitete Betreuerinnen von den Wohnorten ihrer Familien auf ihren langen Pendel-Busfahrten in die Schweiz. Wenn gezeigt wird, wie die begleitete Frau nachdenklich aus dem Busfenster schaut, spürt man als Zuschauerin beinahe ihre schrittweise Transformation, ihre Materialisierung zur 24-Stunden Betreuerin. Eine weitere Betreuerin beschreibt die subjektive Veränderung im Bus, am Pendelweg, folgendermassen: „ beim Wegfahren sind alle still, traurig, aber am Nachhauseweg singen wir fast" (zitiert in Chau et al., forthcoming, p. 9). Die Bewegung dieser Betreuerinnen zeigt deutlich, wie sehr sich ein Körper in einem konkreten Moment oder durch eine bestimme Performanz zu einem gewissen Körper-Subjekt manifestieren kann.

In der Bewegung wird auch illustriert, wie der Kontext des migrations-politischen Regimes das Körper-Subjekt 24-Stunden-Betreuerin durch seine Regelungen (mit-)hervorbringt und auch gleichzeitig reguliert. Nehmen wir als konkretes Beispiel das Schweizer Freizügigkeitsabkommen mit EU/EFTA-Staaten. Pro Jahr erlaubt es EU/EFTA Staatsangehörigen eine maximal dreimonatige grenzüberschreitende Dienstleistungserbringung in der Schweiz. Diese Reglung ermöglichte erst die Konzeption der 24-Stunden-Betreuung als formalisiertes Sorge-Arrangement. Das dafür notwendige Körper-Subjekt der *mobilen* 24-Stunden-Betreuerin in dieser sichtbaren, staatlich-institutionell sanktionierten Form wurde dadurch auch erst denkbar. Festgeschrieben wird es, wie oben dargestellt, in der aus den migrations-politischen Regelungen entstandenen Praxis des regelmässigen Pendelns. Inwiefern dieser Kontext die Körper, die er hervorbring, auch regulieren kann, zeigt die Annahme der Schweizerischen Volksinitiative

„Gegen Masseneinwanderung“ im Februar 2014. Sie stellt das Ausmass beziehungsweise die an sich weiterbestehende Freizügigkeit für EU/EFTA-Bürger_innen in Frage. Die zukünftige Durchführbarkeit der 24-Stunden-Betreuung im selben Stile, hängt also von der konkreten Umsetzung der Initiative ab. Werden die bilateralen Verträge der Schweiz mit der EU gekappt oder eingeschränkt, kann es sein, dass das migrations-politische Regime sehr bald die 24-Stunden-Betreuerin als regularisierte Sorgearbeiterin in andere Formen der Materialisierung drängt.

Die Darstellung der Betreuenden im öffentlichen Diskurs ist von besonderer Bedeutung im Tauziehen um die Sinngebung der Betreuerin als mobilen Körper. Zu beachten ist hier vor allem der in journalistisch-wissenschaftlichen Beiträgen verwendete Begriff der „Care-“ beziehungsweise „Pflegemigration“. Deutsch-Schweizer Medien sprechen in ihren Berichten über die 24-Stunden-Betreuung immer öfter über die „Care Migration“ der „Pflegemigrantinnen“ beziehungsweise „Care-Migrantinnen“ (SRF, 2013; Wehrli, 2011). Inhaltlich webt der mediale Diskurs diese Begriffe in ein Narrativ der Ausbeutung, der schlechten Arbeitsbedingungen sowie einer stark steigenden Anzahl an Agenturen und Betreuungsverhältnissen ein (Schwiter et al., forthcoming; Thurnherr, 2015). Journalistische Beiträge schreiben somit auch gerne etwas emotionaler über „Engel aus dem Osten“ (Jecker, 2012; Wenger, 2010). Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten relativieren dieses Opfer-Narrativ teilweise etwas (Schilliger, 2015; Strüver, 2011). Trotzdem wird gleichzeitig vermehrt von „Care Migration“ und „Care Migrantinnen“ gesprochen (Fudge, 2012; Lutz, 2005, 2014; Van Holten et al., 2013).

Die Anwendung dieser speziellen Begriffe (anstatt von zum Beispiel Betreuerinnen, Betreuungspersonen oder Care-Arbeiterinnen) ist von zweifacher Bedeutung. Erstens erzielt sie eine diskursive Hervorhebung der Mobilität der Betreuerinnen, welche sie zusätzlich noch verstärkt als Migration fasst (Pelzelmayer, 2016). Der Diskurs konstruiert die mobile weibliche Arbeitskraft also als Sorge-spendende *Migrantin*. So fungiert, zweitens, diese Migrations-fokussierte Bezeichnung von individuellen Betreuerinnen als „Care Migrantinnen“ als Interpellation (Althusser, 2006; Brodsky Lacour, 1992). Das heisst, dass der Akt der Benennung eine nominelle Subjektivierung eines Menschen als „Care-Migrantin” erwirken kann. Diese konkretisiert sich in jeder erneuten Bezeichnung einer Person als „Care-Migrantin“. Ihre Wiederholungen werden zur reiterativen Performanz, welche der sich materialisierenden

Betreuerin den „Migrations-"Aspekt (wieder-)einschreibt. In diesem Sinne stellt die Interpellation der Betreuenden als „Care-Migrantinnen" einen wichtigen Moment in der Materialisierung des sich bewegenden Subjektes 24-Stunden-Betreuerin dar.

Die durch die Bezeichnung der Betreuenden als „Care-Migrantinnen" erzielte starke Gewichtung ihrer Mobilität und ihre subjektivierende Benennung als *Migrantinnen* ist von politischer Signifikanz(Tyner, 1996). Denn der Diskurs impliziert die Körper der Betreuungskräfte in ein Narrativ, welches sie primär als fremde, mobile Körper und nicht als dem Schweizer Kontext angehörige Arbeiterinnen fasst. Dies wirft Fragen bezüglich des Ausbaus ihrer Handlungsfähigkeiten, ihrer sozialen Sichtbarkeit und des Gebrauches ihrer politisch-zivilbürgerlichen Rechte auf (Chau et al., forthcoming; Pelzelmayer & Schwiter, 2015).
Der folgende Abschnitt baut auf die soeben diskutierten Punkte, in dem er den Begriff Körper-Subjekt als konzeptuelles Werkzeug für eine kritische Analyse der Beziehung von Macht, Körpern und Subjektivierung in Erwägung zieht.

7. Das Körper-Subjekt

Abschnitte vier bis sechs beschäftigten sich mit der konkreten Materialisierung von Körpern anhand einer Diskussion der kontextabhängigen, sich wiederholenden Tätigkeiten der Sorge, der Arbeit und der Mobilität, durch welche sich die 24-Stunden-Betreuerin herausbildet. Die Körper der Betreuenden materialisieren sich in gewissen Weisen durch den tagtäglichen Einfluss des live-in Modells auf ihre persönliche Entfaltung und Arbeitsbedingungen, sowie ihrer regelmässigen Pendelmigration. Gleichzeitig illustrieren die Diskurse der Agenturen und der Medien die definitorische Kraft der Interpellation der Betreuenden als „herzlich" und „Care-Migrantinnen". Dies zeigt, wie die 24-Stunden-Betreuerin hauptsächlich durch die ihr zugeschriebenen und erwarteten Eigenschaften betreffend ihrer sorgenden Arbeit und Pendelmigration verstanden wird. Somit manifestiert sich sowohl der Körper der einzelnen Betreuungskraft als auch das verkörperte Subjekt der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin in den reiterativen Performanzen des *caring, working* und *moving*.

Auf der obigen Abhandlung basierend ziehe ich die Formulierung der Begrifflichkeit *Körper-Subjekt* in Erwägung. Es soll zwei Aspekte zum Ausdruck bringen. Zum einen die gleichzeitige Wesenhaftigkeit von Körpern und die Körperlichkeit von Subjekten und

Subjektivierungsprozessen. Des Weiteren soll der Begriff des Körper-Subjektes auf die vergleichbaren Machtgefüge, in denen sich Körper und Subjekt bewegen und herausbilden **,** hinweisen (Angermüller & Van Dyk, 2010). Körper und Subjekt werden somit nicht (mehr) als die zwei sich nie begegnenden Seiten einer Medaille angesehenen. Indem wir Körper, Macht und Subjektivierung integrativ zusammendenken, können wir uns einem kritischen, kontemporären Körperbegriff nähern. Mit dem Begriff des Körper-Subjektes habe ich versucht, ein solches kreatives konzeptionelles Werkzeug zu schmieden.

Der Begriff des Körper-Subjektes führt Foucaults These der Subjektivierung durch Objektivierung weiter. Die obige Analyse hat gezeigt, dass eine strikte Abspaltung des Subjektes von seiner Materialisierung weder konzeptuell noch analytisch fruchtbar ist. So weist das Körper-Subjekt begrifflich auf die integrale Abhängigkeit der Prozesse der Materialisierung und der Subjektivierung hin und setzt sich damit über die gemeinhin sehr strenge Differenzierung zwischen Körper und Subjekt hinweg.

Dies ist auch sinnvoll, da Subjekt und Körper ihre Bedeutung und Position im gleichen diskursiven Machtgefüge verhandeln. Dies ist wichtig. Denn wie auch Butler (1993, p. 34) Foucaults Zusammendenken von Macht, Materialität und Subjekt(ivierung) zusammenfasst: „für Foucault geht die Macht in der Konstitution der grundlegenden Materialität des Subjektes zu Werke“[10]. Es ist mit diesem Verständnis, dass sich Subjekt und Körper nur durch und miteinander manifestieren, dass ich den Begriff Körper-Subjekt formuliere.

Diese beiden Aspekte konnten wir auch im konkreten Beispiel der 24-Stunden-Betreuung beobachten. Die Diskussion hat gezeigt, dass sich das Körper-Subjekt 24-Stunden-Betreuerin in den sich immer wiederholenden Prozessen des *caring, working* und *moving* materialisiert und uns somit als „fixity“ (Beständigkeit. Ibid, p. 9) erscheint.

In Bezug auf die Konzepte des regulierenden Ideals und der Subjektivierung ist interessant zu beobachten, dass Teil der Materialisierung der *caring, working, moving bodies* ihre Kontrastierung als das sorgende *Other* zum Ideal des autonomen Individuums ist. Denn, wie wir gesehen haben, werden sie intelligibel durch die Zuschreibung gewisser sorgender, selbstloser Eigenschaften. Dieses erwirkt ein definierendes *Othering* (Irigaray, 1985; Lutz, 2007), da die Betreuenden als sorgende Körper in Verbindung mit der Materie gesetzt und somit dem *disembodied* Ideal des autarken Subjektes gegenübergestellt werden. Dies gilt im Übrigen auch

[10] „power operates for Foucault in the *constitution* of the very materiality of the subject.“

für die *aging bodies*, um die sich die Betreuenden kümmern. Opitz (2008, p. 229) diskutiert „die Materialität der Exklusion" in diesem *Othering* als „Körper des Ausgeschlossenen" – denn „sobald die Soziologie von sozialer Exklusion spricht, spricht sie vom Körper". In diesem Sinne wird das definierende *Othering* zum zweischneidigen Prozess für jene Körper, die weder dem sorgenden noch dem autarken Subjekt-Ideal entsprechen (wollen oder können). Drückt dies sich in einer bewussten in-Frage-Stellung gewisser Legiblitätsschablonen von Körpern aus, wird das mögliche politische Potenzial der Subversion von Körpernormen und Materialisierungsformen aufgezeigt. Es kann jedoch auch sein, dass diese Körper dann nicht (mehr) lesbar sind und somit in ihrer Materialisierung scheitern (Butler, 1993, pp. 2-3)[11]. Dies kann sogar bedeuten, dass sie als „als fehlgeschlagene oder de-legitimierte Körper scheitern, als ‚Körper' zu gelten (ibid, p. 15)[12]. Dies illustriert zum einen die Potenz eines regulativen Ideals, was die (De-)Materialisierung eines Körper-Subjektes betrifft. Zum anderen zeigt es auch, wie die Verhandlung von Machtverhältnissen an und durch *bestimmte* Körper(n) stattfindet und wie fest Subjektivierungsprozesse, Subjektivitäten und die daran geknüpften Machtverhältnisse an ganz spezifische Normen rund um den Körper gebunden sind.

Um dies analytisch und konzeptionell auszubalancieren, muss, wie es Butler (1993:22), frei übersetzt, ausdrückt: „die Bedeutung von dem, was auf der Welt als geschätzter und wertvoller Körper gilt, geöffnet werden"[13]. Es braucht daher einen Körperbegriff, der Körper nicht biologisiert, auf ihre angeblich flache Materialität reduziert und ihr eine passive Be- und Wiederbeschreibbarkeit (eine ziemlich gewaltvolle Idee an sich) zuschreibt. Mit dem Begriff des Körper-Subjektes habe ich anhand der hier präsentierten Analyse versucht, dies anzustossen.

Zusammenführung und Ausblick

Thema dieses Kapitels war die Materialisierung des Subjektes 24-Stunden-Betreuerin in der privatwirtschaftlichen rund-um-die-Uhr Seniorenbetreuung in der Schweiz. Analysiert wurde, wie die in der 24-Stunden-Betreuung arbeitenden Betreuungskräfte in der regelmässigen Verrichtung der Sorge (*caring*), in der ständigen Präsenz am Arbeitsplatz (*working*) und im zirkulären Pendeln (*moving*) zum verkörperten Subjekt der 24-Stunden-Betreuerin werden. Diese Prozesse rütteln rigide Verständnisse von Subjektivität und Körpern auf. Sie wurden deshalb als Anstoss für eine Reflexion über den Körperbegriff in kontemporären Machttheorien

[11] „fail to materialize"
[12] „abjected or deligitimated bodies fail to count as ‚bodies'"
[13] „to expand the very meaning of what counts as a valued and valuable body in the world"

genommen. Der Begriff des Körper-Subjektes wurde vorgeschlagen, um auf die Interdependenz von Körper und Subjekt, sowie von Objektivierungs- und Subjektivierungsprozessen in der Herstellung des Körpers (als untrennbar vom Subjekt) und des (verkörperten) Subjekts hinzuweisen. Dieses konzeptuelle Werkzeug könnte weitere Anwendung in einer Reihe von theoretisch ausgerichteten, Körper- und Macht-sensiblen Analysen der Materialisierung und Subjektivierung finden. In zum Beispiel der feministischen Geographie kann das Körper-Subjekt zur weiteren Analyse der Auswirkungen auf die Subjektivität der Betreuerinnen in trans-nationalen Sorge-Arrangements beitragen. Unter anderem könnte der Begriff zum Ausbau einer Reihe an Konzepten wie Sorge für den eigenen Körper, *body work* und *embodied work* hilfreich sein. Der integrative Fokus auf die Körper im Zentrum vieler Tätigkeiten und Theorien kann auch im Kontext eines steigenden Interesses an neu-materialistischen Zugängen zu Körpern, Arbeit und Raum aufschlussreich sein. Insgesamt trägt das Körper-Subjekt dazu bei, Körper aktiv ins Zentrum kritischer Forschung zu stellen und die hochaktuellen Prozesse, in denen sich Körper und Subjekte herstellen, mit einer positiv konnotierten Begrifflichkeit zu erforschen.

Résumé

Dieses Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit der Beziehung von Macht, Subjektivierungsprozessen und Körpern anhand der 24-Stunden Senioren-Betreuung in der Schweiz. Konkret diskutiert es drei Prozesse in denen sich die 24-Stunden Betreuerin herstellt oder materialisiert. Dies geschieht in den reiterativen Performanzen der täglichen Sorge, Arbeit und Mobilität: im *caring, working* und *moving*. In der Formulierung des Begriffes "Körper-Subjektes" wird versucht, eine Körper-bewusste und Macht-sensible Analyse von Subjektivierungsmomenten zu ermöglichen.

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Paper 3

Care, Pay, Love: Commodification and the Spaces of Live-In Care

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Abstract

This paper investigates uses of the concept of commodification in contemporary analyses of waged care. Drawing on theoretical work on commodification and discourse-analytical research on private live-in care in Switzerland, I explore how Swiss live-in care questions central discussions in the literature. Scholars have focused on the ways in which care is embroiled within market relations and the adverse effects of commodification on the character and quality of care. The paper outlines the two central discussions, identifies important limitations and explores the ways in which Swiss live-care contests their underlying assumptions. Swiss live-in care exhibits intricate processes of waging elder care. Live-in care services are offered and arranged on agency websites while taking place at elderly persons' private households. Elder care thus becomes entangled in market relations both in virtual spaces and at home. Furthermore, live-in care workers do not distance themselves from their work but actively seek to improve their conditions of work. In so doing, they complicate the assumption that paying for care corrupts caregiving or turns it into a product for sale. Based on this evidence from Swiss live-in care, I propose that a careful use of commodification might best serve feminist interventions.

Keywords: waged care, feminist geography, virtual spaces, discourse

Introduction

In contemporary economies of care, individuals pay for private care services. Feminist scholarship has drawn on the concept of commodification in order to address problematic ways and outcomes of paying for care (Bolton & Wibberley, 2014; Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 640; Ungerson, 2003). In particular, the literature discusses the ways in which care is embroiled in market-based relations and the subsequent negative impact on the intrinsic character and quality of caregiving. In the fashion of immanent critique (Butler, 2007; Yeates, 2012), I explore these two central discussions with particular reference to live-in care in German-speaking Switzerland. Discourse analytical research on Swiss live-in care shows the intricacy of contemporary waged care and complicates the two central discussions. Swiss live-in care re-articulates assumed boundaries between market and domestic spheres in insightful ways. Market relations are negotiated both online and at home, as private agencies offer around-the-clock live-in services on their websites and organise them as individual live-in arrangements at elderly persons' homes.

This re-articulation of boundaries also has an aspect of re-valorisation. Agencies portray the domestic sphere as the optimum sphere for care on their websites while the caregivers struggle with low pay and precarious working conditions. Nevertheless, both agencies and care workers emphasise the centrality of "heart-felt love" in live-in care. This perhaps surprising articulation and entanglement of perspectives illustrates the complexity of contemporary processes of waging care. Care workers' emphasis on their "love" also indicates a contestation of assumptions regarding the negative effects of commodification on care's quality or intrinsic character. Some live-in care workers also publicly articulate their experiences in proactive efforts to improve their conditions of work. This suggests that live-in care workers claim rather than distance themselves from their work and thus reject the idea that their work be a commodity or product for sale. Based on this analysis, I suggest that a careful use of the concept of commodification might best serve feminist interventions.

The paper begins with an outline of the empirical case of Swiss live-in care and a note on its methodological considerations. Section two introduces relevant aspects of the concept of commodification. In section three and four, I focus on two central discussions of the commodification of care literature: the discussion of how waged care is implicated in market relations and the discussion of negative effects on the quality and character of care. The respective sections outline the particular discussions, their main limitations for feminist interventions and explore the ways in which the two central discussions are being contested theoretically and in Swiss live-in care. Based on the significance of websites for the arrangement of live-in care services in Switzerland, I suggest in the conclusion that consideration of virtual spaces offers insight into contemporary processes of waging care.

The Empirical Case: 24-hour Care in Switzerland

> 'GETcare offers you 24-hour care at fair and transparent prices!' (GETcare, 2014b)

In German-speaking Switzerland, private agencies now offer live-in care arrangements which they market as 24-hour care. 24-hour care technically concerns non-medical assistance to the elderly in their private households. However, the boundaries are often blurred and so live-in care workers might also be expected to perform domestic work and provide medical care (Schilliger, 2009, p. 142). 24-hour care workers are mainly recruited from European Union (EU) member states, as the bilateral Freedom of Movement Agreement gives EU-citizens access to the Swiss

labour market. The majority of care workers come from countries that joined the EU in 2004 and gained access to the Swiss labour market in 2011—in particular Poland, Slovakia and Hungary (Van Holten et al., 2013, p. 54). In the majority of 24-hour arrangements, care workers look after an elderly person for two to twelve weeks at a time. After this time, they rotate: one worker is off duty and often leaves Switzerland to see their families while the agency sends another care worker in their stead (Schilliger, 2013, p. 17). The literature has discussed this pattern of mobility as circular migration (Metz-Göckel et al., 2010).

Although there is increasing public and media debate about circular migration for the purpose of live-in care, there is no statistical record of 24-hour care arrangements (Truong et al., 2012, p. 5). It is estimated that there are about 50-70 agencies operating from within and outside of Switzerland, 50 of which are reported to operate from within Switzerland and have a relevant permit for work placement and/or the arrangement of employment (Bundesrat et al., 2015, p. 11). The precise number of care arrangements is not known. In addition, the federal labour law does not apply to employment relations in private households (Bundesrat et al., 2015; Ständerat, 2014). This lack of legal protection is of particular concern to live-in carers, as they generally both live and work within private households (International Labour Organization, 2011; Medici, 2012).

A distinctive characteristic of Swiss live-in care is that agencies mainly operate through their websites. They are the pivot of 24-hour care since large parts of the organisation, recruitment, and advertisement of live-in care is facilitated in these virtual spaces (Schilliger, 2013, 2014; Schwiter et al., 2015). Relevant literature has recognised the centrality of websites for both commodification processes and their analysis (Atkinson et al., 2011, p. 566; Bachinger, 2009; Hall, 2011; Lutz, 2005, p. 73). Elaborating on the growing importance of virtual spaces for geographical analysis, Taylor (1997) argues that serious consideration of virtual spaces can give direct insight into the ways in which emerging virtual spaces (re-)shape economic relations. This argument is of significance here since Swiss scholars have observed the emergence of a new 'care market' (Schwiter et al., 2015, p. 7) and described 24-hour as a legal-economic 'grey zone' (Schilliger, 2014, p. 144). Critical examination of online articulations of 24-hour care can thus shed light on the intricate processes at the heart of 24-hour care. Doing so is significant since Schwiter (2013, p. 503) argues that 'more research is needed to trace the various particular expressions and renegotiations of the commodification of care'.

Methodology: Virtual Spaces and the Discursive Aspects of Commodification

This paper presents a discursive analysis of articulations of live-in care in combination with theoretical work on commodification and its uses of in feminist scholarship on waged care.

The discussion of something as a commodity is an important aspect in making something a tradable good (c.f. Phillips, 2013, p. 25). While often not included in the analysis, considering this discursive aspect might prove highly insightful into contemporary waged care. Bolton and Wibberley (2014, p. 684) address two aspects of the commodification of domiciliary care in Britain: the carers' 'bought and paid for labour time' and how this time 'is focused on care as a tightly defined, task-based commodity'. In other words, of particular interest is not only a finished product for sale but the process and ways in which care workers' time and tasks are defined as a given service/product. In Switzerland, this process is characterised by considerable definitional uncertainty about 24-hour care–what activities it can, should, and does include. Until recently, when regulatory bodies began to tentatively engage this definitional struggle (Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2015), the matter and meaning of 24-hour care have mainly been articulated on care agency websites.

Recognising the significance of websites, I observed relevant virtual spaces between September 2013 and September 2015. I followed care agencies' online activities and took into account the articulations of agencies which had active websites during this period. Their number fluctuated, as care agencies have a tendency to appear, change or disappear from the scene. The findings discussed in this article are based on the analysis of around 40 agencies' online material. I extracted the website data in November/December 2014 and in March and July 2015. I first coded the website data loosely following the standard agency websites outline of 'what we offer', 'who takes care of you?', 'what is 24-hour care?', 'costs', etc. and then devised more specific codes for the purpose of analysis. A secondary body of material consists of care workers' public articulations and their self-presentation on the care platform *betreut.ch* (Care.com Switzerland, 2015). I collected this material in 2015 without a particular sampling strategy. In my analysis, I focused on the themes and narratives that recur in firms' and care workers' articulations. Drawing loose inspiration from Hochschild's (2012) exploration of firms' online representations of care services, I analysed the data from a feminist perspective in reference to discourse-theoretical analytics. I looked at the process of 'constituting the meaning' (Helfferich, 2005, p. 20) of 24-hour care. This is important, since the ways in which 24-hour care work is discussed

supports certain truths, realities, and subjectivities about 24-hour care and live-in carers (Carver, 2002, p. 51).

The next section introduces relevant aspects of the concept of commodification and outlines some general limitations of applying the concept of commodification to waged care.

Commodification: Concept, Applications, Limitations

Commodification refers to the process of turning something into a tradable good (Phillips, 2013, p. 26). This process is multidirectional. Marxian commodity scholarship points out that the process by or in which a commodity emerges simultaneously takes place in concrete geographical and historical contexts. At the same time, it happens via an abstraction from its production and technical use (value). Lefebvre (in Simpson, 2009, p. 6) therefore refers to a commodity's production process as a 'concrete abstraction'.

The applications and uses of the concept of commodification are of particular interest here. While they have been manifold, there is a tendency in contemporary scholarship to apply commodification as a broad notion of primarily critical appraisal (see Zemsky, 2009). Castree (2004, pp. 26, 22) has pointed out that commodity research in human geography rarely 'define[s] commodities/commodification/commoditization in systematic terms … [which might lead to] the elision of phenomena that deserve to be disentangled'. We can also observe this tendency in scholarship on waged care. Investigations of the modalities of waging care simultaneously draw on the terms commodification, commoditisation, marketisation, privatisation, and commercialisation (Anderson, 2002; Cox, 2013; Green & Lawson, 2011; Schwiter et al., 2014). At the same time, the term commodification serves as a general notion or critical shorthand that addresses problematic dynamics and negative outcomes associated with care becoming a paid service in a market context. Before I discuss these specific aspects in section three and four, this section explores general limitations of applying the concept of commodification to waged care.

An issue of salience regards the definition of what is (or can) be turned into a tradable good or commodity (Castree, 2004, p. 22; Ertmann & Williams, 2003, p. 403). Castree (2004, p. 23) argues that there are general limitations to claiming that something *is* commodified. In the context of (care) work, this becomes a specifically sensitive claim since we are dealing with a conglomerate of human relations. Polanyi's designation of labour as a fictitious commodity is

helpful here. As 'commodities are here empirically defined as objects produced for sale on the market', Polanyi (1944, p. 75) argues that

> 'according to the empirical definition of a commodity they [labor, land, and money] are not commodities. Labor is only another name for a human activity which goes with life itself, which in its turn is not produced for sale but for entirely different reasons, nor can that activity be detached from the rest of life, be stored or mobilized; [….] None of them is produced for sale. The commodity description of labor, land, and money is [therefore] entirely fictitious.'

So for Polanyi, it makes little sense to say that (industrial) labour is a commodity because work is a human activity inseparable from life and the relationships that constitute it. The same is true for Pateman (1988, p. 150) who argues from a feminist perspective that 'labour power, capacities or services, cannot be separated from the person like pieces of property. […] they form an integral part of his [sic] self and self-identity'. From this perspective, the discussion of waged care in terms of commodification implies an analytical and conceptual abstraction of care as a good that is thus separated from embodied relationships and caregiving praxes (see also Cloutier et al., 2015).

Scholars have nevertheless adopted the language of commodification, for example with the aim of addressing fundamental inequalities and uneven outcomes of economies of care. In research on Indonesian domestic/care workers in Taiwan, Loveband observed that employers were lending workers to friends and family. Loveband (2004, p. 343) concluded that 'these workers are highly commodified; they are products to use and exchange'. This analysis represents an extreme case both in terms of the power-laden issues involved in waged care and in the ways in which scholarship talks about problematic outcomes of paying for care. The following two sections explore in detail two central aspects of the application of commodification to waged care.

The Commodification of Care: Central Discussions

Discussions of waged care in relation to commodification refer to the market and changes/transformations regarding both the sphere and quality of care. The following quote epitomises the commodification of care's two central discussions:

> 'Care also becomes a product for sale which enables providers to care without caring, or to care by contracting others. As such, care enters the market and in the process resituates care

> outside of domestic relations, in new spaces of marketized domesticity such as care homes or waged workers providing care in homes' (Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 646).

Green and Lawson discuss processes of waging care in which care leaves domestic relations respectively creates 'new spaces of marketized domesticity' and takes the form of 'care without caring'. Care becomes a product for sale concomitant with (a) its implication in market relations based on a change/transformation of spheres and (b) a negative impact on the intrinsic quality or character of care. In what follows, I investigate the two central discussions. In reference to theoretical work on uses of commodification, I explore their main implications for feminist interventions as well as the ways in which evidence from Swiss live-in care complicates, contests, and re-articulates these two central discussions.

Embroiling Care in Market Relations and New Marketised Spaces

One central discussion in literature on waged care regards the ways in which care-giving is implicated in market-based relationships in the context of commodification. Cox (2013, p. 492) maintains that 'caring activities are commoditised and embroiled within market-based relationships in many different spaces and places'. The embroiling of care within market relationships is related to a more general extension of the market, as Lawson (2007, p. 1) observes that 'we live in times defined by the relentless extension of market relations into almost everything'. Scholars understand this extension in terms of a neoliberal market that gains ever more ground; relationships and activities 'that were imagined to be beyond the market have become subject to the discipline of neoliberalism' (Lawson in Cox, 2013, pp. 492-493). Therefore commodification can lead to new marketplaces for care (Hall, 2011, p. 549). The commodification of care also addresses the transformation of spaces in the sense of new marketised spaces in which care is turned into a product for sale. For example, as market relations enter the private household, a so-called marketisation of the private sphere occurs. Cox (2013, p. 493) explains that 'care becomes a product for sale in new, marketised spaces (whether care homes or people's own homes) or it can be marketised by government through direct payments to care recipients'.

The literature thus refers to the market in terms of care entering and becoming a product for sale on the market, the emergence of new market places/market(ised) spaces, and the transformation of spheres into marketised spaces. These uses often inform one another, as for

example in Switzerland, developments in waged elder care are discussed as 'the marketisation of elderly care' and in terms of 'a newly emerging private market' (Schwiter et al., 2015, p. 3).

Separated Spheres: The Market's Unsuitability for Care

Based on the above overview of the literature's central discussion of how care is being embroiled in market relations, this sub-section considers theoretical and analytical implications of these arguments for feminist interventions. My analysis suggests that the market extension argument is based on the assumption that certain activities and spaces are "outside of" the market.

In the context of sustained debate about the "nature" of the market and its delineation, scholars (Held, 2002, p. 20) have asked, 'what kinds of activities should or should not be in the market and governed by market norms?' and discussed whether there should 'be a moral limit to the market' (Claassen, 2011, p. 50). In reference to the above questions, Cox (2013, p. 494) asks:

> 'And is care where that [moral] limit [of the market] should be? In academic work and popular opinion the idea that the market is in some way *a priori* unsuitable or incompatible with the activity of caring can be taken for granted'.

This quote directs attention to underlying oppositional notions in discussions of waged care. At their heart lies a perceived incompatibility of the market and care based on the market's unsuitability for the provision of care. Milligan (2003, p. 457) addresses the spatial aspect of the delineation between care and the market in her observation that 'it is only when care within domestic space breaks down that it enters the public or market sphere'. This quote illustrates that the provision of care is associated with the domestic sphere and that only a radical event such as the breakdown of domestic care provision is assumed to precede its move to non-domestic spheres–which for Milligan are the so-called public and market spheres. The discussion so far indicates that although scholars reject dualisms and investigate commodification as a complex, multidirectional process (Ertmann & Williams, 2003; Green & Lawson, 2011; Silbaugh, 1997), oppositional notions of inside/outside of market relations potentially resonate in the application of commodification to waged care.

Investigations of waged care in relation to care becoming a product for sale on the market or the emergence of new market(ised) spaces also address the contested issue of what can essentially become commodified (see section two). They appear to suggest that activities and aspects of human experience, which are understood mainly in non-market, non-monetary terms,

are particularly liable to commodification processes (Phillips, 2013, p. 26; Wilkinson, 2003, p. 46). The argument thus implicitly draws on an opposition between commodity and non-commodity.

These underlying dualistic delineations are of analytical and political salience for feminist interventions. Analytically, the representation of care as a commodified 'product for sale' (Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 646) discursively contributes to the abstraction of care-giving from its complex context of diverse relations. Moreover, if the market is seen as *a priori* unsuitable for care-giving (Cox, 2013, p. 494), we position the domestic sphere as special and separate, "outside of" market-based relations. This judgement forestalls open analysis of heterogeneous, (quickly) changing dynamics in waged care. We can observe these dynamics in Swiss live-in care. There is a considerable virtual marketplace for live-in care services as well as a marked struggle around the integration of market and domestic spheres in the context of private live-in care. The following two sub-sections discuss these two important ways in which Swiss live-in care both contests and re-articulates delineations.

The Spaces of Live-In Care: The Market Online and at Home

In Swiss live-in care we can observe both a dynamic online market and an intricate negotiation of the private household as a 'labour market' (Medici & Schilliger, 2012, p. 17). As stated in section one, live-in care services are predominantly mediated through growing virtual spaces. The ways in which 24-hour care work is articulated on websites indicates a complex struggle which blurs boundaries between market and domestic spheres. On the one hand, agencies' online discourse articulates the private sphere as the unquestioned sphere of optimum care. One agency's slogan epitomises this sentiment. It asserts, 'Your flat – your world'[i] (SwissSeniorenbetreuung, 2015). At the same time, live-in care is waged employment which comes into being through the involvement of an online marketplace and private sector agencies. Based on this observation and its organisation as a formal employment relation, scholarship has discussed 24-hour in terms of market relations entering the domestic sphere. It is understood that a new market in 24-hour elder care services has emerged (Schwiter et al., 2015, p. 7). We can thus observe a dynamic of simultaneously discursively re-inscribing the domestic sphere as the optimum sphere of care and the organisation of live-in care in the context of market provision.

This dynamic illustrates the 'fluidity of various public and private boundaries associated with the home' (K. England, 2010, p. 134). In contemporary waged care, these boundaries become fluid beyond the nation state. This is because live-in care also links individual households and economies of care that come into being across national borders (Cox, 2006). In an effort to theoretically reflect this complex integration of market and private spheres in waged care work, Lutz (2005, p. 65) conceptualises the private household as a 'world market for female workers'. Similar to the formal establishment of waged employment relations, this global(ising) market situated within the private household does not disturb the simultaneous framing of care as a private matter (Atkinson et al., 2011, p. 566). This framing is a double-edged sword, as England (2010, p. 134) explains that 'because the home is viewed primarily as a site of "non-work", any waged work occurring there is liable to be viewed as secondary or supplemental'. This means that while live-in care has the potential to re-articulate already blurred boundaries between domestic and market spheres, spatially informed oppositions continue to impact on care work in terms of its adequate valuation and remuneration. We can observe both aspects of valuation and remuneration in the spatially qualified ways in which live-in care workers in Switzerland are remunerated.

The Spatial Qualification of Pay

In this 'world market for female workers', live-in care workers' pay level is low. In the context of Swiss live-in care, this low level is justified by de-valuing 24-hour care in two particular ways. The first regards the emphasising of care workers' "love" which will be discussed in more detail in the next section. The second way concerns both agencies' and the public discourse's repeated reference to the comparatively lower wage levels in care workers' home countries (GETcare, 2014c; Wickramasekara, 2011). This means that the paying of a–for Swiss standards–low wage *in* Switzerland is justified by spatially qualifying the pay in relation to the workers' so-called home countries. The low pay is also hidden through only paying carers for specific tasks (such as making breakfast for 15 minutes) rather than the full-time assistance in all aspects of the elderly person's daily life which the "24-hour care" arrangement promises. So while the current minimum hourly wage of 18.55 Swiss Francs (about $19, Schweizerischer Bundesrat, 2016, p. 18) for caregivers might sound like a good wage, the formal splitting up of 24-hour care into small, mainly instrumental tasks throughout the day keeps the paid working hours far below the standard 42.5 working hours a week of Swiss full-time employment. As a result, even though

live-in carers are expected to be present and look after the elderly around the clock, the main bulk of assistance is simply framed as on call duty, not care work for 24 hours a day.

The spatial qualification of pay based on the worker's dis-location from the Swiss context and the (poor) remuneration of only a fracture of the work of 24-hour assistance are central modalities of remuneration in Swiss live-in care. Regarding our discussion of commodification, the two modalities indicate how the critical discussion of the negative outcomes of care being embroiled in market relations has been of little significance for the work's valuation and care workers' adequate remuneration. For even though Swiss 24-hour care regards highly formalised paid care arrangements, the underlying problematic of care at the private household has not been mitigated. As Schwiter et al. (2014) have shown, notions of gender and origin are even emphasised and valorised in Swiss 24-hour care. In other words, 24-hour care combines both a considerable degree of formalisation of care-giving with discursive emphasis on informal notions. Evidence from Swiss live-in care therefore suggests a highly complex process of waging care that transcends and questions assumptions of commodification relating to care becoming a product for sale in market(ised) spaces.

The next section explores the second central discussion in the commodification of care literature with particular focus on agencies' and care workers' articulations of 24-hour care.

Commodification of Care: Negative Outcomes

A second central discussion in the commodification of care literature regards the negative outcomes associated with care being embroiled in market relations. The following quote illustrates this discussion:

> 'The category of care denotes not merely an abstract quality, or a property of social relations, but something which is being detached from broader, inclusive notions of the social through its commodification' (Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 639).

In referring to a 'detachment' of care from the social, Green and Lawson articulate a broad notion of commodification which denotes a critical appraisal of the fundamental modalities, dynamics, and outcomes of waging care (see also Zemsky, 2009). Feminist investigations of the outcomes of commodification have focused on the quality and character of care. This section explores these discussions of the negative impacts of paying for care on the quality of caregiving.

The Corruption of Care

> 'There is the idea that caring activities are corrupted when a monetary value is attached to them' (Cox, 2013, p. 494).

The quality or character of care is a central point of discussion in critical investigations of waged care. It is argued that 'care also becomes a product for sale which enables providers to care without caring, or to care by contracting others' (Green & Lawson, 2011, p. 646). The notion of care without caring poignantly illustrates how commodification is understood to imply a fundamental change of the character of care. In a similar vein, the notion of corruption (see above Cox, 2013, p. 494) suggests a problematic transformation of care through commodification in which the essence of good care is in danger of somehow diminishing or changing for the worse when monetarised and/or marketised.

Based on the observation that 'the context and the organisation of commoditised care can be highly problematic' (ibid.), scholarship has explored the negative effects of the ways in which care becomes embroiled in market relations or is provided in a market context. Cox (ibid, p. 492) observes 'a range of different circumstances where care is being reimagined and redrawn through processes of commoditisation and reactions to them'. Perceived as extraneous influences on care, commodification dynamics are understood as strong enough to considerably change care and caregiving. Here the literature has discussed the meaning of commodification for the concept of care and what adequate caregiving in a waged form and/or market context can look like. For Cox (ibid, p. 494) it is clear that 'the increasing commoditisation has created a moment when definitions, theorisations and conceptualisations of care, care work and what caring is are up for debate … [so that it is no longer clear] what "good care" means'.

The argument that definitions of care no longer hold in the context of commodification illustrates the fundamental way in which care is held to be transformed and or corrupted in the context of commodification. The following passage considers the implications of this central discussion in the literature with a focus on how notions including 'caring without care' emphasise the emotional character of care and in so doing potentially awaken unwanted essentialist and dualistic notions.

Love and Pay: Re-Signifying Commodification

> 'What we are witnessing is the commodification of many of the types of work that were previously undertaken mainly in private homes and for 'love' – in the sense of not for wages' (McDowell, 2009, p. 6).
>
> 'The belief that love and care are demeaned by commodification may, ironically, lead to low pay for caring labor' (P. England & Folbre, 1999, p. 46).

Dualistic notions have long essentialised caregiving as love rather than work and framed care as–intrinsically and naturally–opposed to remuneration and the market (see Hochschild, 1989; Wilkinson, 2003). As part of efforts to rework dualist assumptions and problematise essentialising characterisations of caregiving, feminists have sought to conceptually reflect the range of organisational, physical and instrumental activities and interpersonal, emotional relations that make up care (Abel & Nelson, 1990, p. 4; James, 1989). While scholars have recognised that 'the introduction of the cash nexus […] creates a new context for care' (Ungerson, 2003, p. 395), there is a simultaneous emphasis on the emotional investments and/or affective dimensions of caregiving (Folbre, 1995). For example, Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotional labour extends the characterisation of caregiving as more-than-contractual work (Anderson, 2002, p. 111) but with a strong analytical focus on caregivers' emotional labouring (personal attachment) and care's emotional, inter-personal dimensions. As England and Folbre (1999, p. 46) point out, this emphasis vocalises the 'concerns [that] come into play when we discuss the commodification of care for others, particularly family members. We see love as sacred – and caring most effective - when it is done for intrinsic rather than extrinsic reasons'.

Recognising that the emphasis on the emotional can contribute to the stabilisation of caregiving as (certain) women's intrinsic love that neither wants nor needs remuneration, England and Folbre (ibid, p. 48) go on to argue that 'we should be suspicious of any argument that decent pay demeans a noble calling. The notion that women should provide care out of the goodness of their hearts has traditionally reinforced low pay for caring occupations'. Also Silbaugh (in Phillips, 2013, p. 27) 'argues that "at a practical level, women should at least be wary of anti-commodification arguments, because these arguments arise when women receive money for something, not when women are paying money for something"'. In order to mitigate these issues, feminist geographers have asserted that waging care does not necessarily imply "uncaring" caregiving. In this context, Cox (2013, p. 494-5) maintains that 'care activities

outside market relations are not unproblematic or "caring" in some pure way. Imaginings of them as such can be based on essentialised portrayals of women as selfless and naturally caring'.

Scrutiny of the dualist idea that remuneration (of women) and (proper) care be incommensurable or undesirable has led feminists to critically re-read commodification with regard to feminist concerns of voice and subjectivity in transactions in the so-called intimate sphere (Ertmann & Williams, 2003). In these re-readings there is a shift of focus and framing of what is construed as problematic. Silbaugh (in Phillips, 2013, p. 27) draws attention both to the critique's potential drawbacks and the process's potential positive outcomes including greater economic independence based on an increase in earnings. This intervention can be interpreted as an invitation to re-consider the usefulness of discussing waged care mainly in relation to problematic modalities and outcomes of "commodification" while employing the term in a broad way.

The following two sub-sections continue exploring this contested field by discussing evidence from Swiss live-in care. I discuss how the discursive emphasis on live-in caregivers' "love" and the ways in which care workers claim their work complicate the assumption that paying for care entails moments of corruption.

Care Workers' Love on Agency Websites

> 'Heart-felt and reliable care and assistance at home.' (HausPflegeService, 2014)[ii]

On their websites, care agencies present 24-hour care with a strong focus on the workers. As the above quote indicates, agencies describe their services with specific regard to the particular ways in which 24-hour care is given. In articulating a 'heart-felt and reliable care' (ibid), agencies clearly refer to workers' character and affectionate bearing in their performance of 24-hour care. Adjectives often used to describe 24-hour care workers include 'affectionate/caring'[iii] and 'friendly and self-sacrificing/devoted'[iv] (Daheim24, 2015; ElternCare, 2014). Photos of smiling workers and heart-shaped symbols accompany these descriptions. This means that on their websites, agencies articulate both the service and the workers as particularly caring and loving. In order to flesh this out, agencies specifically speak of workers as 'herzlich' (HausPflegeService, 2014), which contains the word heart in German and roughly translates to "warm". The strong emphasis on workers' 'heart and dedication' (GETcare, 2014a)[v] is a central narrative in care agencies' construction of workers on their websites. We can see the centrality of this notion of

"heart-felt warmth/love" in that care agencies have included it in their slogans. For example, one care agency promises 'affordable care, priceless/invaluable love'[vi] (Pflegehilfe Schweiz, 2014) while another advertises 'care with a heart' (GETcare, 2014a)[vii]. The discursive stress on workers' love on care agency websites is important to consider here because it can work to devalue the work of 24-hour care in several aspects.

The first slogan quoted above indicates that agencies emphasise workers' so-called heart-felt warmth in a complex interweaving of monetary valuation ('affordable care') and values ('priceless love'). This emphasis on workers' "love" in a *paid* service is crucial here. In the context of highly precarious and to date unregulated working conditions for live-in care-givers in Switzerland (Truong, 2015, p. 82; Van Holten et al., 2013, p. 46), scholarship has investigated how the discursive stress on caregivers' love has contributed not only to the continued deskilling of elder care but also helped legitimise precarious working conditions and keep pay low (Pelzelmayer, 2016, p. 7). Looking at agencies' online discourse gives an insight into how this deskilling and devaluation is achieved: through the discursive entanglement of certain notions and narratives. In particular, agencies entangle notions of love and labour in their representation of waged care workers as particularly caring. Agencies' characterisation of 24-hour care as 'priceless' but 'invaluable' 'love' (GETcare, 2014a) deliberately blurs boundaries between intrinsic informal care labour and professional care work. On their websites, agencies articulate a paid service that is based on the possibility of a "quality" live-in caregiver that comes as close to a relative as possible (see Andersson, 2012, p. 167). They do so in framing care as formalised work while stressing its informal attributes and requirements: care-givers' 'heart and dedication' (GETcare, 2014a) and their 'practical experience' (Mc Care, 2014) rather than formal training, for instance. The discursive construction of 24-hour care workers as "warm" is indicative of this dynamic. Schilliger (2014, p. 170) here argues that the framing of workers as '"helpers", "good natures" … or "care fairies" cuts out the aspect of work' in 24-hour care. Scholarship has furthermore suggested that in the emerging field of formalised 24-hour elder care, workers' provenance and sex are the decisive factors in the construction and employment of 24-hour care workers (Schwiter et al., 2014, p. 13).

We can see how in emphasising love in a paid job, agencies play with what is discussed as love and labour in the literature. This means that the waged work of 24-hour care comes into being as and through what Boyer et al. (2013, p. 517) have called 'contested understandings': both love and labour. The next section explores an important level of this complex negotiation

of live-in care: caregivers' articulations of their work. My discussion of workers' articulations indicates that live-in caregivers do not distance themselves form their work. For the purpose of this paper this means that they contest assumptions regarding the negative outcomes of commodification, in particular that remuneration might result in an abstraction of one's labour.

Women Claiming Their Work

> 'Women may resist the view that their paid care work is simply a commodity' (Held, 2002, p. 21).

While care as a feminised domain is being contested in various moments and contexts, it is almost exclusively women who perform 24-hour care in Switzerland. This matters, as England (2010, p. 138) points out that 'those doing the various forms of caring work, contrary to neoliberal logic, are not disembodied and genderless'. In order to learn more about this complex issue, feminist scholarship has turned to discursive constructions (Cox, 2013, p. 497; Greuter & Schilliger, 2010). For example, Pratt (1999, p. 215) has shown how the discursive construction of "the Filipina migrant worker" as "inferior housekeeper"' structures the ways in which migrant women workers understand themselves, their work, and their labour market opportunities. So if we assume an intricate connection between subjectivity and waged work, it may not come as a surprise that caregivers do not necessarily see their care work as a commodity. Indeed, as Held above suggests, women caregivers may resist such a presupposition. For albeit that the context in which women take decisions about care is suffused with 'complex gendered understandings of caring responsibilities' (McDowell et al., 2005, p. 219), many care workers find their work 'rewarding' (K. England, 2010, p. 141) and Ungerson (2003, p. 395) reports that 'successful, intimate care relationships occur within a variety of […] settings'. In this sense, I now turn to caregivers' articulations of their work. In the field of Swiss live-in care, 24-hour care workers have articulated their understandings of the work they do in two ways: in the context of a public struggle to raise awareness and improve the conditions of 24-hour care, and in online self-representations. Articulating their work in these ways allows workers to negotiate understandings of "24-hour care" and by extension contest assumptions regarding a potential corruption of their paid care work.

In the last five years, 24-hour care workers have begun to share their experiences of providing live-in care in Swiss households with the public. In particular one care worker, Božena Dománska, has made public her perspective on the current practice of live-in care. In newspaper

and television interviews, at political and academic events, Ms Dománska has expressed her point of view and understanding of the work of 24-hour care. She has done so in order to raise awareness and trigger public debate about the often highly precarious situation of mobile live-in care workers in German-speaking Switzerland. In one of her numerous newspaper interview, Ms Dománska recounts her very personal story of how she came to fight for the rights of (mobile) live-in care workers. She remembers that after the death of her caree at the time, her agency sent her to take care of two other people for the same pay. 'That was too much for me', she explains:

> I was close to collapse. But my employer did not care. Nobody took care of me. It finally took me 20 years to realise that we women who come here from Eastern Europe should not aim lower; that we should not let ourselves be humiliated and exploited. We are no slaves after all but human beings with feelings like everybody else too (Nittnaus, 2013).[viii]

In this interview, Ms Dománska shares her very personal experience as a live-in caregiver. She explains how she was put in a position in which she was faced with either extreme overwork or job loss. She makes clear how she felt markedly vulnerable and how this experience of pronounced vulnerability has made her claim her voice and struggle to improve conditions for live-in care workers. I argue that the making public of this experience of vulnerability is of the utmost political significance here. This is because live-in care not only remains a legally unregulated field of employment but also constitutes a socially invisibilised issue in Switzerland. In publicly articulating their perspectives, live-in care workers overcome barriers of shame, silence and social isolation, and reject narratives of exploitation that make them voiceless and passive. Rather, in claiming their voices and making them heard in the media as well as the public and academic debate has enabled workers to contest the fundamentally problematic modalities of 24-hour care. Workers have in particular demanded the observation of contractual agreements including maximum working hours as well as full remuneration for all hours of work and adequate compensation for so-called on-call duty (see Respekt@VPOD, 2016; Schilliger, 2015). Their demands are very clear and specific, including for example a monthly salary of CHF 5000 (Nittnaus, 2013), which would group live-in care with service sector and vocational jobs.

In publicly articulating and deliberating their concerns, live-in care workers not only actively negotiate the conditions of their care work but also appropriate their work. Rather than distance themselves from 24-hour care for the reasons outlined by Ms Dománska above, live-in caregivers instead claim their work and struggle to improve its conditions. This is a very

important point for our discussion of commodification because workers' claiming of their work indicates both a resistance to an assumed abstraction of their labour and a corruption of their caregiving in its monetarisation. In other words, as 24-hour care workers strive to formally improve their conditions of work, they fundamentally challenge the assumption that in the context of waged care, individuals would see their care work simply as a tradable good from which they are somehow separate. Rather, as evidence from Swiss live-in care indicates, many workers actively voice their perspectives in proud and proactive ways. This dynamic we can observe in caregivers' articulations of their work online.

In particular, I would like to discuss the ways in which women talk about their care work in online advertisements of their services on the platform *'cared-for.ch'*[ix] (Care.com Switzerland, 2015). The platform is a noteworthy virtual space for individuals who offer and look for care services. For example, on 11 July 2015 a search for live-in elder care in Zurich showed 682 relevant hits. Analysis of women's online self-representations indicates that live-in care workers and those to-be emphasise their personal characteristics in reference to their countries of origin. One lady who advertised her services on the virtual platform stressed her 'empathy' (in German literally her 'ability to empathise') and her 'discretion'[x] (Care.com Switzerland, 2015). Another referred to her culture and country of origin (without specifying which these were) in stating that, 'we learn to treat the elderly in a deferential, polite and dignified way'[xi] (ibid). We can see that care workers emphasise specific characteristics (empathy, discretion) and a more general yet culturally coded and idealised bearing (deference and dignity) in online representations of their work. To a certain extent then, care workers appropriate and re-articulate agency's discursive emphasis on caregivers' so-called heart-felt warmth/love. In her ethnographic study of 24-hour care, Schilliger addresses this point; she reports that a care worker explained the importance of love in her practice of 24-hour care in the following way, 'You need heart. You need to love your patient'[xii] (in Schilliger, 2014, p. 241). Since, as we have seen in our discussion of agency websites above, qualification for the job of 24-hour care is framed in terms of informal experience and the ability to provide "heart-felt" care, workers' emphasis on their polite, warm and deferential characteristics works to communicate knowledge of good care praxis and thus qualification for the job. So in asserting their 'ability to emphasise', their 'discretion' and 'deferential' behaviour, workers proactively claim their voice in the emerging field of 24-hour care which for them remains an unregulated employment field.

Regarding the purpose of our discussion, this shows that women's articulations and contributions are highly significant for analyses of waged care with respect to commodification. Care workers' emphasis on love is part of wider proactive accounts which complicate straightforward narratives of victimisation (e.g. Keim, 2014). In particular, workers' accounts suggest that they identify with their work and hence do not perceive their waged care work in purely negative terms or as a tradable good that is separable from them. Skeggs (2014, p. 4) gets to the heart of the issue in observing that 'women [caregivers] who are repeatedly symbolically positioned as pathological defend their value *through* values. Respectability [i]s critical to the women's ability to realize economic value'. This quote both refers to how women claim their work and illustrates the complex entanglement of notions and perspectives in potential instances of commodification in contemporary waged care. Conceptually reflecting this complexity is important for analytically rigorous discussions of the ways in which caregiving becomes waged employment. I have discussed the intricate ways in which elder care is negotiated as private live-in care services in Switzerland in relation to central discussions of waged care in the literature with the purpose of engaging with this complexity in a constructive, theoretically significant and politically useful manner.

Conclusion and Outlook

This paper has discussed uses of the concept of commodification in feminist analyses of waged care with specific reference to Swiss live-in care. Referred to as 24-hour care, Swiss live-in care involves individual around-the-clock care at elderly persons' private households. Feminist scholarship has drawn on the concept of commodification for the purpose of addressing problematic ways and outcomes of waging care. Two central discussions in the literature have regarded the ways in which care is implicated in market relations and the negative effects on the quality and character of care. With the purpose of constructive, immanent critique, I explored these two discussions in reference to discourse analytical research on 24-hour care in Switzerland.

Swiss live-in care indicates complex dynamics of waging care. The agencies that offer live-in care services both portray the private home as the optimum sphere of care and organise live-in care as individual arrangements. Moreover, they articulate the formal paid employment of 24-hour care with a focus on caregivers' "heart-felt warmth". This articulation is significant,

as it shows how Swiss live-in care complicates assumptions of implicating care in market relations. Swiss live-in care re-articulates assumed delineations between market and domestic spheres in insightful ways since in Swiss live-in care, market relations take place both in the virtual spaces of websites and at the private households of elderly people. We can further observe the complex dynamics of waging care in agencies' and care workers' shared emphases on the centrality of "love" in 24-hour care. As both foreground the importance of "love", their perspectives entangle in insightful and perhaps unexpected ways. Live-in care workers' articulations are of particular significance for our discussion of the negative outcomes of commodification. Their self-representations as particularly caring on online marketplaces and their public negotiation of their conditions of work suggest that live-in care workers claim rather than distance themselves from their work. As live-in care workers discursively identify with their work, their accounts suggest that they do not perceive their waged caregiving practices in purely negative terms or as a tradable good that is separable from them. This contests the assumption that the waging and/or commodification of care change the so-called intrinsic character of care and the quality of caregiving.

In all, my discussion of the complexity of the process of waging care in the case of Swiss 24-hour care complicates the two central discussions of commodification and thus draws attention to potential limitations of current uses of commodification in the literature.

Based on this analysis and with the purpose of making a constructive and conceptually useful contribution to feminist scholarship on contemporary waged care, I suggest that feminist interventions might benefit from using the concept of commodification in careful ways. Doing so might foster greater conceptual clarity in contemporary analyses of waged care and thus strengthen their political effectiveness.

Furthermore, the case of Swiss live-in care draws attention to the growing importance of virtual spaces in economies of care. Virtual spaces including care agency websites and online marketplaces are central platforms for the organisation of live-in care arrangements and the negotiation of caregiving as waged work. Thus the article's analysis suggests that in addition to using commodification in careful ways, feminist interventions might benefit from more directly considering these virtual spaces since doing so affords greater insight into the intricate ways in which waged care takes shape today.

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[i] Original, 'Ihre Wohnung – Ihre Welt'

[ii] Original, 'Herzliche und zuverlässige Betreuung und Pflege zu Huase.'

[iii] Original, 'liebevoll'

[iv] Original, 'freundlich und aufopferungsvoll'

[v] Original, 'Herz und Hingabe'

[vi] Original, 'Bezahlbare Pflege, unbezahlbare Herzlichkeit'

[vii] Original, 'Pflege mit Herz'

[viii] Original, 'Das war zu viel für mich. Ich stand kurz vor einem Zusammenbruch. Doch meinem Arbeitgeber war das egal. Niemand hat sich um mich gekümmert. Ich brauchte letztlich 20 Jahre, um zu realisieren, dass wir Frauen, die aus Osteuropa hierher kommen, uns nicht immer nach unten orientieren, uns nicht erniedrigen und ausnutzen lassen sollten. Wir sind doch keine Sklavinnen, sondern Menschen mit Gefühlen wie jeder andere auch.'

[ix] Original, 'betreut.ch'

[x] Original, 'Einfühlvermögen' and 'Diskretion'

[xi] Original, 'Wir lernen immer achtungsvoll, höflich und würdevoll mit ihnen [den SeniorInnen] umzugehen.'

[xii] Original, 'Es braucht Herz, du musst deinen Patienten lieben.'

Paper 4

Short-term circular migration and gendered negotiation of the right to the city: The case of migrant live-in care workers in Basel, Switzerland

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on live-in elder care workers in the Swiss city of Basel. Working with the Lefebvrian concept of *le droit à la ville*, it critically investigates the extent to which circularly migrating women can negotiate their *right to the city* when working as private 24-hour carers in Basel. It first discusses how the Swiss migration and labor regimes in this gendered field of work affect their rights, access, belonging, and participation in the city. The article then analyzes two examples of how live-in care workers challenge existing regulations individually and collectively, and instigate changes at the level of the city. Exploring the idea of participation beyond formal recognition such as residency and citizenship, the paper critically reflects on the *right-to-the-city* debate's key concept of *inhabitance*. Focusing on women who - as circular migrants - only reside in Switzerland for a few weeks at a time and who - as live-in workers - are often isolated in private households, the paper argues that work arrangements and mobility are key to understanding inhabitants' *right to the city*.

KEYWORDS

labor migration, working conditions, right to the city, gender, care work, Basel

[1] All authors with equal contribution.

Short-term circular migration and gendered negotiation of the right to the city

The case of migrant live-in care workers in Basel, Switzerland

1 INTRODUCTION

In the last few years, an increasing number of private agencies have been offering 24-hour care to the Swiss elderly in their private homes. In the majority of cases, they provide the services of, and/or employ, female EU nationals in Swiss households for two to twelve weeks at a time. Workers thus regularly commute back and forth between their 'home' and 'work' countries (Schilliger, 2014; Schwiter et al., 2015). In the literature, this mobility pattern is often called 'circular migration' (Mansoor & Quillin, 2007; Vertovec, 2007). While they are in Switzerland, care workers live in the cared seniors' private households. Even though they are *de facto* residents in Switzerland for this period of time, they are often described in a narrative that firmly locates them in their 'home' countries and *not* in the places where they work and live as 24-hour care workers (Pelzelmayer & Schwiter, 2015). This discursive placement is reflected in their residence status, working conditions, legal protection - and participation in everyday life in their local communities.

The present article explores this narrative by focusing on how care workers negotiate their position in the city of Basel in Switzerland. Given their circular migration, their temporary work arrangements, and the fusion of workplace and residence, how do care workers negotiate their 'right to the city' in Basel? How do they participate in everyday life in the city? Acknowledging the importance of work-related issues in urban politics, the paper refers to Henri Lefebvre's concept of the *right to the city* (Lefebvre, 1968). It does so with a view to exploring the potential to address questions related to the four aspects of rights, access, belonging, and participation in a situation of heightened mobility. Since issues of gender and country/place of origin are highly relevant in 24-hour care, the paper works with gendered readings of the *right-to-the-city* debate.

After a brief presentation of the material and methods, we discuss how we read Lefebvre's *right to the city* through a gender lens. In the results section, the article explores the situation of circularly migrating 24-hour caregivers in Basel. We investigate the ways in which the specific nexus of migration and labor regimes affects their rights, access, belonging, and

participation in the city and we discuss two cases in which care workers challenge the existing regimes at an individual as well as at a collective level. In our conclusions, we reflect on what our foregrounding of work arrangements and temporary inhabitants might add to the *right-to-the-city* debate.

2 MATERIAL AND METHODS

Our findings are based on a three-year project funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation. Empirically, the research design was set up as a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). Based on this approach, we followed the network connections that make up the 24-hour care market, and identified key sites, actors, and moments that shape its development. As part of this close observation of the 24-hour care market, we analyzed the extensive public debate on live-in elderly care in the popular media and in government proceedings. We interviewed care workers, representatives of care agencies, workers' organizations, officials, and other involved parties, and followed some of the network connections to worker recruitment sites in Slovakia and Hungary. Furthermore, our material included a close reading of relevant documents and an analysis of care agencies' marketing and self-presentations on the internet, all of which was interpreted from a discourse analytical perspective (Waitt, 2010).

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Lefebvre's *le droit à la ville*: collectivist politics, inhabitance, and the gender lens

In *Le droit à la ville*, Henri Lefebvre (1968) rejected the formalities of participation on the level of the nation-state. Urban space was to become the locus for decision-making. Lefebvre's idea of a *right to the city* addresses issues of legal rights, access to resources, belonging, and participation (Kofman & Lebas, 1996; Purcell, 2003). It demands that all inhabitants of a city have a right to the social, economic and cultural resources in the city and it calls not just for a reform, but for a radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations in the city and beyond (Butler 2012). All inhabitants of a city should be able to participate in decision making and have the right to appropriate the city as their own. It thus underlines the need for a fundamental shift in

the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, so that control is transferred from the state and capital and to urban inhabitants (Purcell 2002).

Today, there is not only considerable interest in the (global) city (Domosh & Seager, 2001, 67; Joy & Vogel, 2015; Sassen, 2001) and (access to) rights, but also in the concept of *the right to the city*, particularly because "political and economic restructuring in cities is negatively affecting the enfranchisement of urban residents" (Purcell, 2002, p. 99). Research drawing on the debate has focused for instance on (public) housing (Fenton et al., 2013), on social media and activism (Tayebi, 2013), and on (minority) group participation and rights (Jabareen, 2014). As such, activist groups have also adopted the concept (Mullis, 2014). The World Social Forum (2004, 2) for example developed a World Charter for the Right to the City, which reads,

> *"1. All persons have the Right to the City free of discrimination based on gender, age, health status, income, nationality, ethnicity, migratory condition, or political, religious or sexual orientation (…) ."*

Often the concept is employed to support individuals in claiming their rights. From a gender perspective, however, scholars have questioned this interpretation of Lefebvre's ideas and the liberal framework in which such universal rights-based claims are often articulated (Brown, 2000). Feminist and critical scholars working with the *right-to-the-city* go beyond a rights-based language and emphasize Lefebvre's vision of collective forms of participation and inhabitance.

First, Harvey (2012, p. 3) for example recognizes the potential of the *right to the city* as not just an issue of individualised rights and access. He foregrounds its possibilities of collectivistic participation,

> *"The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves." (Harvey, 2008, 23)*

The *right to the city* as *participation* and *appropriation* therefore also encompasses the right to reshape and transform the city *collectively*, and the right to form alliances in order to change existing norms, rules, and regulations.

Second, gendered readings of Lefebvre foreground his concept of *inhabitance* as the basis for (local, urban) participation. Fenster (2005, 218-219) for example explains that "Lefebvre doesn't define belonging to a political community in the terminology of formal citizenship status, but bases the *right to the city* on inhabitance", and Purcell (2002, p. 99) talks about an "urban politics of the inhabitant". So while conventional enfranchisement addresses only national citizens, the *right to the city* speaks of inhabitants, urban dwellers, or what Lefebvre (1991) calls *citadins* – a term that combines the notion of citizen with inhabitant and denizen. In addition, Lefebvre uses the French word *habiter*, which refers not only to dwelling but also to a way of living that involves appropriating the city as one's own (see Kofman and Lebas 1996, pp. 17).

Inhabitance thus speaks to 'lived space' and people's 'actual' experience of a given space (Lefebvre, 1991). Central here are people's everyday rhythms of life (Lefebvre, 1992). A Lefebvrian analysis of these rhythms opens up the possibility that - instead of nationality, ethnicity, or birth – one's own experiences of everyday life in the city is the basis for participation (Purcell 2002). A focus on people's experiences of every day life also gives room and potential to new forms of contestation, in which people begin to manage urban space by themselves and for themselves (Butler, 2012, 104).

Fenster (2005) discusses these everyday experiences as creating multi-layered forms of *belonging*. Inhabitance as the basis of belonging and participation in everyday life is a tempting proposition. However, what does inhabitance mean beyond formal recognition such as residency and citizenship, particularly in a context of *mobility* (Nagel & Staeheli, 2004)? How do circular migrants participate as inhabitants while being present only intermittently? To what extent can they be *citadins* in more than one city at once? Lefebvre argues that the bourgeois aristocracy that moves from grand hotel to grand hotel can no longer be considered inhabitants (Lefebvre, 1996, 159). But what about workers who might be equally mobile but for entirely different reasons? The case of migrant live-in care workers in Basel offers a unique opportunity to explore these intricate questions. In the following, the article outlines how a critical reading of the *right-to-the-city* framework can support a gendered analysis of a contemporary multi-local phenomenon such as 24-hour care.

3.2 24-hour care in Switzerland and the right to the city

The article builds on two points addressed in the *right-to-the-city* debate. First, 24-hour care seldom takes place in what is understood as 'public' space (Schilliger, 2013). Care workers are therefore often poorly visible in the 'public' sphere. Second, the *right to the city* does not necessarily relate to the 'private' sphere of the household (Fenster, 2005; Staeheli & Dowler, 2002). While gendered perspectives have applied the concept to (certain groups of) women's negotiation of public space (Hackenbroch, 2013) and to housing (Fenton et al., 2013), the 'private' sphere has received considerably less attention (cf. Fenster, 2005). In exploring live-in care as reproductive work that takes place in the private home but impacts on the workers' participation in everyday life in the city, we simultaneously draw on and move beyond the private and public spheres as conceptual tools and construct a framework that disrupts the public/private dichotomy.

Looking at the case of care workers who reside in Basel regularly but only for short periods of time, we critically investigate both the formal mechanisms and state-directed rights-based frameworks, as well as the concept of inhabitance in the case of repeated mobility. This involves moving beyond a territorial conceptualization of the city to an understanding of space as a product of interrelations (Massey, 2005). In this sense, *citadins* negotiate their *right to the city* through connections to other places. With our focus on circular migrants these interrelations become especially visible. Our aim is to contribute in this way to an understanding of urban participation and 'citizenship' that "makes it possible to think migration and city beyond [exclusionary] ethnicity paradigms" (Hess & Lebuhn, 2014, 13) and beyond a territorial understanding of space. Before we discuss how temporary migrant care workers can negotiate their *right to the city* in Basel, we provide insights in the following sections into how the Swiss migration and work regimes affect live-in care workers' possibilities to do so.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Free movement of workers and circular migration

The admission of migrant workers to Switzerland is based on a dual system that grants (gainfully employed) nationals of European Union (EU) or European Free Trade Association (EFTA) member states the right to free movement, while only giving work permit to a limited number of highly skilled employees from non-member states. The dual system is based on the idea that low-skilled labor can be filled by workers from within the European Union, especially from the newer accession states in Eastern Europe (Castles, 2006). These regulations concerning the free movement of persons to Switzerland form the basis of the current model of live-in home care work. While live-in carers from non-member states can still only work informally, the regulations now enable care workers from EU/EFTA to legally enter Switzerland and find formal employment. Since Switzerland extended the freedom of movement to eight new Eastern European member states in 2011, the number of agencies that offer packaged live-in care services has markedly increased. The agencies recruit carers from countries such as Poland, Slovakia, and Hungary, most of whom work in Switzerland for only a few weeks or months at a time.

Temporary migration within the EU is not new. Many forms of short-term and seasonal migration patterns have prevailed in different forms (Castles, 2006). Today, researchers and policy makers often subsume them under the term *circular migration*. A number of scholars have noted that circular migration is increasingly promoted as a policy (Triandafyllidou, 2010; Vertovec, 2007; Wickramasekara, 2011) to foster development in home countries, to meet labor market needs without permanent settlement, and to minimize irregular migration. In short, circular migration is claimed to generate so-called triple win situations (Castles & Miller, 2009; Wickramasekara, 2011). The European Commission and the Global Forum on Migration and Development for example strongly promote the idea of actively managed circular migration (European Migration Network, 2011; GCIM, 2005). Private home care agencies adopt this win-win-win logic, too. Their model of sending care workers back and forth between country of permanent residence and workplace in Switzerland every two to twelve weeks epitomizes short-term circular migration.

Circular migration might help workers to secure a livelihood without emigrating permanently. Going back and forth allows them to spend time with family and friends and to

continue fulfilling care responsibilities (Marchetti, 2013). However, Wickramasekara (2011) argues that such circular migration programs lead to numerous protection problems and rights issues that apply especially to low-skilled workers. The next section shows how the interplay between the migration and work regimes in Switzerland results in different degrees of social and political exclusion for live-in migrant care workers and hence affects their *right to the city*, with regard to the four aspects of *rights*, *access*, *belonging*, and *participation*.

4.2 The situation of live-in care workers in Switzerland: influenced by intertwined migration and work regimes

Although paid home care work is increasingly common, public perception and politics often neglect home care as an employment field. Feminist research has shown that this disregard is typical for so-called reproductive work, which is performed in the private space of the home and has long been done by unpaid female family members (for an overview see Kofman & Raghuram, 2015). Consequently, labor law in many countries, including Switzerland, does not protect paid care work in the private household. Furthermore, live-in care workers are often not represented by labour unions (ILO, 2013). This exclusion means that working time, occupational health and safety, and workplace monitoring are regulated less strictly than in other sectors of the labor market (Medici, 2011).

Additionally, the care workers' *rights* highly depend on the length of their residence and the formality of their work arrangements. Since the Free Movement of Persons Act came into force in 2002, care workers from EU and EFTA states have been able to obtain mainly three different types of residence permit (State Secretariat for Migration, 2015b). While employees with unlimited working contracts can apply for residence permits that are valid for five years, workers with an employment contract valid from three to twelve months can only apply for short-term permits. The validity of these short-term permits is identical to the term of the employment contracts and can be extended for a maximum of one year. Workers who stay in Switzerland for less than three months a year cannot apply for residency and are only registered with the local authorities via an online form (State Secretariat for Migration, 2015a). For migrant live-in care workers, this means that they can legally enter and work in Switzerland. However, their often short-term contracts not only limit their right to stay in Switzerland but also produce insecure job situations. The employer of one of our interviewees, for example,

would renew her employment contract for only half a year at a time, which led to her residence permit being also only renewed for half a year every time. For her, this caused considerable confusion and stress:

> *I don't understand either. The elderly person I take care of is 84 years old. Slightly dement, but in good shape. He is not about to die in two days. Nor in half a year. (…) Well, [this is] not good. No, it makes me anxious. And you know, in such a case I often think that because I'm very frustrated, it would be better in informal [economy]. At least I wouldn't have such problems. (live-in carer)*[2]

Apart from holding only short-term contracts - as the quote above also implies - live-in carers (especially those who work in Switzerland for less than three months a year) still often work informally. We found that many of them are not fully registered with the authorities for social insurance, pension schemes, and the like. One interviewee recalls:

> *It wasn't an official job (…) when I started. I was officially registered only recently. I worked for eight years without being registered. (…) It seems that finally I have a fixed place and I am registered here, with an address as well. (live-in carer)*

In many respects, carers with residence permits are better off than employees with short-term permits or without permits. If a carer with a residence permit loses her job, s/he has the right to stay in Switzerland, *access* unemployment benefits, and apply for social assistance (SKOS, 2011). For short-term workers whose permits expire with their employment contracts, however, it is far more difficult to claim assistance. Although they pay the same share of unemployment money through automatic deduction from their salaries and would de-jure be eligible for unemployment benefits, we found that they cannot access them due to their missing residence permits. In this sense, the intertwining of migration and work regimes complicates live-in care workers' rights and access to resources.

Moreover, our research suggests that the work arrangement of live-in care itself is specifically tailored to temporary migrants. As the following quote by an interviewed care agent illustrates, live-in care workers are clearly not meant to stay longer and form ties in the city in which they work:

> *This [the idea that a live-in care worker would aspire to social mobility and to build an autonomous life] is not our goal. (…) Imagine: a woman comes here as a live-in care worker, starts to save money, and starts to pay rent for her own apartment. And then her boyfriend*

[2] The quotations used in this paper were translated from Hungarian and German by the authors and the research assistants.

joins her (…), they live together. Maybe they have two kids then. Now, (…) is this women supposed to sleep, to live with the care-recipient? Forget it! (…) This model is not suitable for residents. (…) As soon as they are permanently here and they live here, they are never going to accept a job like that. (care agent)

This quote shows that live-in care work is not easily reconcilable with having one's family in spatial proximity. Even if some might wish to, live-in carers are not supposed to conceive of the center of their lives being in Switzerland but in their 'home' countries. Correspondingly, their wages are usually not sufficient to secure a decent livelihood in Switzerland, let alone to bring family members from their countries of origin to their work country. Nevertheless, it might help them improve their livelihoods in their cities of permanent residence.

Undoubtedly, care workers might not aspire to move to Switzerland permanently or to bring family and the requirement to go back and forth between home and workplace across national borders in short-term circularity can be desirable for individual migrant workers. One of our interviewees for example told us that her employer wanted her to stay and work permanently, but she preferred to share the live-in care arrangement with a colleague so that she could go home between her month-long shifts. However, not every live-in carer wishes to perform circular migration and to live the corresponding transnational life, as this quote from an interview with a live-in care worker from Hungary shows:

I: And this going back and forth. How do you handle that? (…)

IP: It's bad for everyone. Everyone. The drivers even say, anybody you talk to, no matter where they go to work, Germany, Austria, or anywhere, that when leaving, everybody is silent, sad, and on the way home, we almost sing. Yes. You're away from your home for a month. (care worker)

Hence, going back and forth and being away from home can generate negative feelings. The quote also indicates how difficult it can be to establish such a transnational life. The social networks of live-in carers and their practices to maintain these social relations change with the practice of short-term circularity. In order to be able to maintain old relations and build new ones across national boundaries, carers emphasize the importance of *access* to resources such as affordable means of communication, transportation, space to socialize and to meet people, etc. In principle, a transnational life implies the possibility of developing feelings of *belonging* in various locations (Levitt & Schiller, 2004). However, the working and living conditions in live-in arrangements make it difficult for live-in carers to meet other people and to *participate* in social life outside their workplaces:

Ms. Meyer (care-recipient) has been very agitated and keeps yelling at night. (…) Magdalena (carer) is very worried that Ms. Meyer's shouting disturbs the neighbors (...). Normally, Magdalena likes to go for a walk or to leave the house for a little while. But right now she prefers to stay home during her free time from 2pm until 4pm, in case Ms. Meyer yells again or in case something happens. (Fieldnotes after a visit to Magdalena's and Ms. Meyer's)

As the persons they look after often require around-the-clock care, carers have little 'leisure time'. Although their working contracts usually stipulate maximum working hours of six to eight hours a day, our interviewees report that these hours are spread throughout the day and evening. Furthermore, they often work more than the hours written in their contracts and remain on call for the remaining hours. Consequently, many of them hardly ever feel properly off work:

It was not a problem for me to wake up at night. I knew, it's 24-hour work, just like having a little child, one has to be awake. (…) I rested whenever I was able to. (…) I woke up, even if they didn't ring - but I heard (them), because our rooms were separated only by a hallway and a bathroom. (...) Actually, for this job, I think this kind of alertness is necessary. (…) those who don't fall asleep and wake up easily, they suffer greatly because they cannot get a rest. (care worker)

In this quote, our interviewee is well aware of the required 'work ethic' and behavior of what is perceived 'a good carer' (Weicht, 2010). The comparison with having a little child also shows that care work encompasses affective, embodied work. Care work, which includes providing intimate services and a loving environment, often produces relationships based on love and affection (McDowell, 2009). These emotional ties make it even more difficult for carers to claim time off work while feeling responsible for the care recipient.

To sum up, this section identified a number of difficulties faced by circular labor migrants who work in a live-in care arrangement. These difficulties stem from the specific intersection of the migration regime and the work regime in Switzerland, regarding how they affect the workers' *right to the city*. We argue that it is this intertwining of a short term circular migration system with a live-in work arrangement in the private household that structurally complicates enjoyment of

- equal *rights* for live-in home care workers with regard to residence permits and labor law,
- equal *access* to unemployment benefits, social assistance, and other resources,

- the possibility of leaving the workplace/household for a longer period of time and claim time off work to live one's own life, for example to meet compatriots, build new social networks, and develop a sense of *belonging*.
- the acquisition of financial and other means to build an independent life in the city, for example to rent one's own apartment, go for a coffee, to the theatre and movies, and *participate* in other activities of one's own choice - similar to the resident urban population.

4.3 Negotiating everyday life in the city and transforming the city collectively

In the previous sections, we discussed how the specific nexus of the migration and labor regimes in Switzerland complicates live-in care workers' access to resources and their belonging and participation in the city. However, in spite of the above mentioned disenfranchisements due to closely intertwined formal and informal mechanisms, live-in carers are local *inhabitants* who actively participate in the struggle for 'empowerment' (Schilliger, 2015; Strüver, 2013). This section first looks at examples of how care workers negotiate their participation in the everyday life in the city on an individual level. Then we will come back to Harvey's argument that the *right to the city* means more than just individual freedom and includes the right to form alliances and collectively transform the city (Harvey, 2008). We will illustrate this with a concrete example from Basel.

Many of our interview partners underlined the absolute necessity of having access to an Internet connection in the elderly person's household. By means of smartphones, computers, and communication software such as Skype, care workers can reach their friends and family and be contacted anytime from anywhere in the world. Above all, social media platforms such as Facebook play an important role for their social life. Many of our interviewees for example take pictures of their surroundings, of the city, of the landscape around the workplace, of themselves and the elderly and share them on social media platforms with their friends and family members. Vice versa they comment and look at posts and pictures from colleagues and family from other places and from 'back home'. Moreover, our interviewees told us stories of how they meet and interact with new acquaintances in the environment of their workplace. Through these and other practices care workers develop a sense of belonging in different places. Also, live-in carers often participate in specific Facebook groups in which they exchange information about

employment opportunities or to support each other in care work related subjects. These new forms of communication and relations via the Internet enable the care workers to participate in the local everyday life at their workplaces while continuing to 'inhabit' their cities of permanent residence - even though they are intermittently physically absent (Longhurst, 2013). In this respect, they are *citadins* in two places at once.

Live-in care workers not only appropriate the city via developing social relations and feelings of belonging, they also fight for better working conditions. In Basel for example, we met Bożena Domańska, who made her struggles public. In 2013, she was portrayed in a Swiss national television documentary (Batthyany, 2013). As a result of the film, which was key to bringing labor conditions in live-in care work to public attention, Bożena Domańska lost her job as a care worker. But her high profile made it possible for her to access new employment opportunities. She settled permanently in Basel, found a new job as a mobile care worker, and became the public face, social organizer and spokesperson of live-in care workers. In this process she gained access to resources, belonging, and participation in the city, none of which are within easy reach for most short-term circular migrants. In the following quote she recalls the importance of her fight and the need for collective organization:

> *If I hadn't told anyone back then (…), if I hadn't started this lawsuit or if I hadn't defended myself, it would have been over. And I said: No, stop. Then they approved my claims. You have to take matters into your own hands and say 'here I am' and 'not like that'! (…) we are all individuals, but together we can achieve more. (Interview with Bożena Domańska)*

Photo: Bożena Domańska (left) at a street protest against the exploitation of care workers. Photo with kind permission of: Respect@VPOD

In her Canadian example, Géraldine Pratt's (2012) collaborative work with the Philippine Women Centre in British Columbia gives an in-depth insight into the struggles of live-in care workers who organized and publicly campaigned for better working conditions. While in Canada live-in care workers move long term and long distance with the aim of acquiring residency and sponsoring the immigration of their family members, most live-in care workers stay in Switzerland only for a few weeks at a time. This complicates the building of long-term alliances and workers' organizing in a way that might support collective change in the city. For one, in a live-in arrangement, there are usually no co-workers at the workplace/household to interact with. Furthermore, the required around-the-clock presence makes it difficult for the workers to find time for such activities and meet other workers (Schilliger, 2015).

In spite of similar difficulties in Basel, a group of live-in care workers around Bożena Domanska successfully organized. In spring 2013 they founded an alliance called *Respect* (Respekt, 2015). Its initial members were mainly live-in care workers from Poland. After Polish-

language church service on Sundays, they would meet for coffee and tea and discuss their work situations. The women got in touch with a critical researcher and representatives of the labor union for the public services personnel (VPOD). Together, they set up more formal monthly meetings on Sunday afternoons. The group's main aim was to support each other and to exchange information. Today they continue to discuss individual work situations and how to best deal with them. They support each other in finding jobs and collect knowledge about their labor rights. Over time, the group has broadened beyond the Polish community and now includes women from Slovakia, Romania, and other countries.

One key concern they shared from the beginning was that many of them worked longer hours than stipulated in their working contracts. With the support of other live-in care workers, critical researchers, and juridical experts of the labor union, care worker Agata Jaworska decided to bring her case to the civil court of Basel. She sued her former employer, a care agency, for all the hours she worked for or was on call in her client's household without being paid.

Photo: Agata Jaworska with some of her colleagues from the group "Respect" when they deposited her claim at court. The sheet she holds reads (in German): "24 hours of work - six hours paid. Not with us!" Photo with kind permission of: Respect@VPOD

In Spring 2015 the Basel court ruled that Agata Jaworska was to be compensated in full for all additional hours she worked and that she should get half of her usual hourly wage for every hour spent on call in the household. The total compensation amounted to an additional 17,000 USD for three months of 24-hour care work (Schilliger 2015, 173).

The women of *Respect* celebrated the court ruling as a landslide victory for live-in care workers in Basel. While it might not change their often disadvantageous situation with regard to migration and labor rights at the national level, it was a victory that the cantonal judiciary of Basel acknowledged their claim to be compensated for all hours at work and on call. In the months since this ruling, *Respect* has encouraged and helped other members of the group to file similar claims, taking Agata Jaworska's case as precedent (for a more detailed account of the development and activities of Respect see Schilliger, 2015).

As a consequence, employers of live-in care workers have become increasingly aware that their employees might have to be compensated for any additional hour they worked for or were on call in a household. Even though it remains to be seen whether courts in other cities will rule cases similarly, on the level of the city of Basel, this mandate challenges the previously widely-used and largely undisputed practice of paying live-in care workers only for a fraction of the hours they work in households of elderly people. Hence, the urban scale served as arena for changing existing regulations 'bottom up' and it holds the potential to initiate changes in other cities. In September 2015 *Respect* received the equal opportunity prize awarded by the city of Basel. It is currently trying to found branches in other major cities in Switzerland.

The case study of *Respect* demonstrates how a small alliance of workers, unionists, and researchers succeeded in changing the rules of how live-in care work is remunerated in Basel. In addition to their success in the court case, the group has become a community and network for care workers, which facilitates their sense of belonging in the city. By using facebook and other Internet based communication, the network enables participation even during the months the workers are not living in Basel. In this sense again, the care workers remain 'inhabitants' of the city even during their intermittent absences.

5 CONCLUSION

Following our analysis, we would argue that adding a gender lens to the right-to-the-city framework includes three aspects. First, it broadens our scope of interest from questions of formal citizenship and political participation to the everyday life of the city's inhabitants. To what extent can they access resources, participate in activities, and feel they belong in their daily lives? Second, it shifts our attention from the more visible, 'public' spheres of the city to what often remains invisible because it is deemed 'private'. For example, what does it mean to care for an elderly person in a private home 24 hours a day? And third, a gender lens foregrounds that the *right to the city* is more than the freedom of an ostensibly autonomous individual. It focusses on the collective level and allows us to ask in what ways a given city's inhabitants form alliances and collectively strive for transforming existing practices, rules, and regulations.

We tried to explore this understanding of a 'gendered right to the city' in the case of live-in care workers in the Swiss city of Basel. Our analysis shows that women's rights, access to resources, their belonging, and participation - both at the individual and collective levels - are directly related to the work arrangements in live-in care employment. Based on this, we think that the *right-to-the-city* debate should strengthen its focus on labor-related rights and issues. We would argue that working conditions are often key in shaping inhabitants' possibilities to negotiate their *right to the city* and that they should receive more attention in future debates.

Furthermore, our example of live-in care workers allows for exploring what negotiating one's *right to the city* might mean in the context of heightened mobility. As short-term circular migrants, care workers inhabit the city only for a few weeks at a time. Their example shows the importance of adopting a relational understanding of space that transcends a territorial focus on a single city. Inhabitance might not be limited to only one city at a time and it is produced through interrelations to other places.

Additionally, a situation of heightened mobility complicates the development of long-lasting relationships and social networks. However, the case of *Respect* shows how care workers can successfully form an alliance and team up with local researchers and activists to negotiate their rights. This illustrates how local dwellers can participate in the transformation of existing practices and hence in the restructuring of power relations that underlie everyday life in the city not only when they are long-term *citadins* but also when they reside in the city only for short

periods of time. In claiming their *right to the city*, short-term dwellers contribute to (re)shaping the urban space so that it better meets their needs as - temporary - *inhabitants*.

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Paper 5

Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung für ältere Menschen in den Schweizer Medien

English title

On the construction of 24h care for the elderly in the Swiss media

Titre français

De la construction des soins heures dans les médias Suisses

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Live-in care, home care, working conditions, , media, discourse analysis,

Aide familiale résidente, travaux ménagers, conditions de travail, médias, analyse de discours

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel analysiert die Schweizer Medienberichterstattung zur 24h-Betreuung von 2003-2013. Mittels einer Diskursanalyse identifizieren wir den dominanten Mediendiskurs eines boomenden Marktes, der Agenturen kritisiert, Betreuer_innen viktimisiert und die Betreuung in den eigenen vier Wänden idealisiert. In der Diskussion analysieren wir die blinden Flecken des medialen Diskurses. Wir hinterfragen die These des 24h-Betreuungs-Booms, beleuchten die Schattenseiten der Betreuung daheim und thematisieren die Verantwortung der Familie als Arbeitgeberin.

Abstract

This article analyses Swiss media coverage of 24h care between 2003 and 2013. Based on a discourse analysis we find that the dominant media discourse speaks of a booming market that criticises agencies, victimises carers and idealises home care. In our discussion we analyse these results with a focus on the so-called blind spots of this media discourse. In particular, we challenge the claim of a boom in 24h care, shed light on the negative aspects of home care, and foreground the ignored responsibility of the family as employer.

Sommaire

L'article analyse la couverture médiatique des soins 24 heures en Suisse entre 2003 au 2013. Au moyen d'une analyse de discours nous décrivons le discours médiatique dominant comme un marché prospère qui critique les agences, victimise les aides-soignant e s et idéalise les soins à domicile. Dans la discussion nous analysons les angles morts de ce discours médiatique. Nous remettons en question la thèse d'un marché prospère et misons en lumière la zone d'ombre des soins à domicile et la responsabilité ignorée de la famille en tant qu'employeuse.

Zur Konstruktion der 24-Stunden-Betreuung für ältere Menschen in den Schweizer Medien

1. Einleitung: Ein Markt tritt ins Scheinwerferlicht der Medien

In den letzten Jahren ist in der Schweiz ein neuer Markt entstanden, in dem junge Unternehmen 24-Stunden-Betreuung für ältere Menschen in deren Privathaushalten anbieten. Sie nennen sich «A Casa 24h», «Get Care» oder «Daheim24» und offerieren eine Betreuerin, die bei der betreuungsbedürftigen Person wohnt, ihr den Haushalt führt und rund um die Uhr für sie sorgt. Das Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft (Bundesrat, 2015, 11) geht in der Schweiz inzwischen von rund 60 solchen Unternehmen aus. Die Betreuenden sind fast ausschliesslich Frauen und stammen vorwiegend aus Zentral- und Osteuropa (Truong et al., 2012, 11). Aufgrund des Personenfreizügigkeitsabkommens haben sie als Bürger_innen von EU-Mitgliedsstaaten das Recht, regulär einzureisen und in der Schweiz zu arbeiten. Viele von ihnen lassen sich jedoch nicht permanent in der Schweiz nieder, sondern arbeiten einige Wochen oder Monate im Haushalt der betreuungsbedürftigen Person und kehren dann für eine ähnliche Zeitspanne an ihren Hauptwohnsitz zurück. Währenddessen übernimmt eine andere Betreuerin den Haushalt (Greuter & Schilliger, 2010, 157).

Nach anfänglicher Tabuisierung ist in den (Deutsch-)Schweizer Medien eine breite mediale Debatte zur 24h-Betreuung entstanden (Schilliger, 2013, 143). Die Neue Zürcher Zeitung titelt, die Betreuer_innen hätten «*Über den Job eine zweite Familie gefunden» (27.06.2011)*, der Blick am Abend bezeichnet «*Pflegerinnen als moderne Sklaven» (24.07.2013)* und das Schweizer Fernsehen zeigt den Dokumentarfilm «*Hilfe aus dem Osten» (20.06.2013).* Allein von 2011 bis 2013 erschienen in den Schweizer Medien rund hundert Beiträge zum Thema. Im vorliegenden Artikel analysieren wir die Thematisierung dieses neuen Seniorenbetreuungsmarktes in der Schweizer Medienlandschaft aus diskurstheoretischer Perspektive. Welche Aspekte treten in der Debatte hervor und wie werden sie dargestellt? Und was bleibt in den bisherigen Darstellungen ausgeblendet? Auf Basis dieser Analyse unterziehen wir die Diskursstränge des Booms, der Idealisierung der Betreuung in den eigenen vier Wänden, sowie der Dämonisierung der Agenturen einer kritischen Reflexion und diskutieren die blinden Flecken dieser Thematisierungsweise: die fehlenden Zahlen, die Betreuungsqualität und die Verantwortung der Familien als Arbeitgeberinnen. Ziel unseres Artikels ist es, auf diese Leerstellen hinzuweisen und eine gesellschaftliche Diskussion dazu anzustossen.

2. Stand der Forschung zur 24h-Betreuung

Weltweit migrieren Arbeitskräfte – grösstenteils Frauen – aus ärmeren in reichere Länder, um in den dortigen Haushalten Betreuungsarbeit zu leisten (Lutz, 2008; vgl. Momsen, 1999; Parreñas, 2015; Pratt, 2012). Die Literatur diskutiert das Phänomen mit den Begriffen der Vergeschlechtlichung und Ethnisierung von Care Arbeit (Bachinger, 2015; England & Dyck, 2012; Winker, 2013).

Die bisherige Forschung hat sich dabei insbesondere mit den Lebensrealitäten der Betreuer_innen auseinandergesetzt. Zahlreiche Arbeiten illustrieren die Problematiken der Nationalstaatengrenzen überschreitenden Betreuungs-Arrangements – der so genannten *care chains* (Hochschild, 2000) – und den damit verbundenen multilokalen Lebensweisen und transnationalen Beziehungen (Yeates, 2012). So erleben die migrierten Arbeitskräfte oft belastende Trennungen von Kindern und anderen Familienangehörigen (Graham et al., 2012; Pratt, 2009). Während die reicheren Länder zusätzliche, günstige Sorgearbeitskräfte gewinnen, verschärfen sich in den ärmeren Herkunftsländern Care-Defizite (Fudge, 2012, 68; Hochschild, 2002).

Des Weiteren belegt eine Vielzahl an Studien, dass die Betreuer_innen – obwohl sie emotional und körperlich belastende Arbeiten ausführen (Dyer et al., 2008; Folbre, 2001) – wenig gesellschaftliche Wertschätzung erfahren (Lutz, 2005, 75) und häufig prekären Arbeitsbedingungen ausgesetzt sind (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2010a, 427; Pratt, 2003). Formell zeigt sich dies, indem der Privathaushalt als Arbeitsort in zahlreichen Ländern von Arbeitsschutzgesetzen ausgenommen ist (ILO, 2013, 95). Oft besitzen die Beschäftigten keine formellen Arbeitsverträge, haben schwierigen Zugang zu Sozial-, Arbeitslosen-, Renten- und Gesundheitsleistungen und verfügen nicht über die Möglichkeiten, vorhandene Rechte – wie beispielsweise freie Tage oder die zeitnahe Bezahlung ihres Salärs – einzufordern (Anderson, 2006; Hess, 2009; Karakayali, 2010; Wigger & Brüschweiler, 2014, 439ff). Aufgrund ihrer historischen Feminisierung und ihrer Nähe zu unbezahlt verrichteter Arbeit im Haushalt, wird 24h-Betreuung oftmals nicht als vollwertige Erwerbsarbeit anerkannt und organisiert (Bachinger, 2009, 222; Schilliger, 2014, 51; Winker, 2015). Gleichzeitig wird Care-Arbeit immer öfter in bezahlte Dienstleistungsverhältnisse eingebunden, was die Literatur als Kommodifizierung von Sorgetätigkeiten fasst (Lutz, 2005).

Neben der Sichtbarmachung der oft prekären Arbeitsbedingungen und Lebenssituationen zeigt die vorhandene Literatur jedoch auch, wie Betreuer_innen als aktiv Handelnde ihre Lebensumstände mit einer Vielfalt an Strategien zu verbessern versuchen (Karakayali, 2010). Auf individueller Ebene setzen sie ihre transnationalen Lebensweisen und das dadurch erworbene Wissen zum Beispiel ein, um als Vermittler_innen für weitere Betreuer_innen Zuverdienste zu erwirtschaften (Strüver, 2013, 194). Be-

treuer_innen entwickeln sehr unterschiedliche Selbstverständnisse von sich als Arbeitnehmenden und bestreiten vereinfachte gesellschaftliche Darstellungsweisen (Avril, 2014). Auf kollektiver Ebene unterstützen sie sich gegenseitig, vernetzen sich mit Gewerkschaften, Aktivist_innen und Forschenden und machen mit öffentlichkeitswirksamen Aktionen wie beispielsweise Theaterprojekten oder Demonstrationen auf Missstände aufmerksam (Johnston & Pratt, 2010; Schilliger, 2015).

In Bezug auf die Seniorenbetreuung in der Schweiz geht die bestehende Forschung insbesondere der Frage nach, wie das Zusammenspiel von Angehörigen, Freiwilligen, der öffentlichen Hand und privatwirtschaftlichen Anbietern organisiert werden muss, um einer wachsenden Zahl älterer Menschen einen adäquaten – sprich einen so weit wie möglich selbstbestimmten – Lebensabend zu ermöglichen (Höpflinger, 2006; Höpflinger et al., 2011; Schwiter et al., 2015; Seifert & Schelling, 2013; SRK, 2013; Wigger et al., 2014). In Analysen der damit verbundenen Schwierigkeiten kommen wiederholt der Kostenpunkt und die diesbezügliche Attraktivität von 24h-Betreuungsverhältnissen zur Sprache. Denn öffentliche, institutionelle Betreuung wird zunehmend als zu teuer oder als unattraktiv gesehen (Kneubühler & Estermann, 2008, 189; van Holten et al., 2013, 36).

In ihrer grundlegenden Analyse der Entwicklung der 24h-Betreuung in der Schweiz zeigt Sarah Schilliger auf, wie eine zunehmend kommerzialisierte Logik in der Seniorenbetreuung ältere Menschen dazu anhält, individualisierte, private Betreuungsangebote in Anspruch zu nehmen (Schilliger, 2014, 122ff). Dabei fungieren sogenannte Care-Agenturen als Angelpunkte. Als gewinnorientierte Unternehmen vermitteln oder verleihen sie 24h-Betreuer_innen an Privathaushalte und haben dabei grossen Einfluss auf die Ausgestaltung der Arbeitsverhältnisse (Schwiter et al., 2014). Analog zur internationalen Literatur stellen die Forschenden übereinstimmend fest, dass es sich beim Schweizer 24h-Betreuungsmarkt um ein arbeitsrechtlich weitgehend unreguliertes und unkontrolliertes Beschäftigungsfeld handelt (Schilliger, 2014, 143ff; van Holten et al., 2013, 10), in welchem prekäre Arbeitsbedingungen und Löhne weit unter dem Existenzminimum verbreitet sind (Hettlage & Baghdadi, 2013; Truong et al., 2012, 15ff). So finden beispielsweise arbeitsrechtliche Bestimmungen zum Schutz von Beschäftigten in der 24h-Betreuung nur teilweise Anwendung (Medici, 2011; Medici, 2015, 74ff).

Insgesamt beinhaltet der Stand der Forschung auch in der Schweiz fundierte Grundlagenarbeit zu den Herausforderungen der Langzeitbetreuung älterer Menschen und zur Situation der 24h-Betreuer_innen. Es sind genau diese Herausforderungen, welche die Schweizer Medien in den letzten Jahren verstärkt diskutieren. Eine Analyse der medialen Darstellung der 24h-Betreuung steht jedoch bis heute noch aus. Wir erachten es als sehr wichtig, diese Forschungslücke zu schliessen und vertieftes Wissen über die mediale Repräsentation der 24h-Betreuung zu gewinnen, da Medien eine mächtige

wirklichkeitskonstituierende Funktion einnehmen. Sie prägen die subjektive und öffentliche Wahrnehmung der 24h-Betreuung und definieren dadurch unter anderem mit, was Betreuungsbedürftige und ihre Angehörigen, die Betreuer_innen, sowie Vertreter_innen staatlicher Regulierungsbehörden und die interessierte Öffentlichkeit unter 24h-Betreuung verstehen. Gerade in einem Markt, der erst seit kurzer Zeit im Licht der medialen Aufmerksamkeit steht, hat dies entscheidenden Einfluss darauf, wie die Arbeitsverhältnisse von den Agenturen gestaltet, wie sie in den Haushalten alltagspraktisch gelebt und wie sie von Behörden reguliert und kontrolliert werden. Insofern verfolgen wir mit unserem Beitrag das Ziel, Spannungsfelder und blinde Flecken im Diskurs herauszuarbeiten und in die öffentliche Diskussion einzubringen.

3. Methodologie

3.1 Die Foucaultsche Diskursanalyse als Forschungsperspektive und Analysemethode

Die vorliegende Studie basiert auf einer diskurstheoretischen Methodologie in Anlehnung an Foucaults (1981) „Archäologie des Wissens". In diesem Werk erläutert Foucault erstmals seine archäologische Methode zur empirischen Analyse von Diskursen. Im Gegensatz zu seiner später entwickelten Genealogie, die stärker auf Subjektivierungsprozesse und Machttechnologien fokussiert, konzentriert sich die archäologische Methode auf die Produktion von Wissen in Texten (Scheurich & Bell McKenzie, 2005). Sie beinhaltet nicht eine konkrete Anleitung sondern eher eine „Wendung des Blicks" (Foucault 1981, 161), der es erlaubt zu analysieren, was zu einem gewissen Zeitpunkt in einem bestimmten Kontext als Normalität und was als Abweichung gilt (Bublitz, 2006, 243).

Diskurse bestehen gemäss Foucault aus Aussagen und Texten, die die Welt beeinflussen (Waitt, 2010, 218). Sie zu analysieren heisst, die Vielzahl an Aussagen zu einem Untersuchungsgegenstand zusammenzutragen, sie jeweils in Kontext anderer Aussagen zu stellen und zu beschreiben, nach welchen Regeln diese aufeinander Bezug nehmen (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1987, 71). Foucaults Ziel ist es, die Muster herauszuarbeiten, nach denen sich Aussagen zu spezifischen Ordnungen – sprich Diskursen – formieren, die für eine bestimmte Zeit Bestand haben (Sarasin, 2005, 106). Diskurse üben so stets auch Macht aus – sie bestimmen, was als wahr akzeptiert wird und realisieren sich in konkreten Praktiken, Institutionen und Regulierungen (Hall, 2001, 76). Sie sind Versuche, Sinnordnungen zumindest auf Zeit zu festigen um so eine verbindliche Wissensordnung zu institutionalisieren (Keller, 2004, 7).

Die Medien fungieren darin nicht als simple Übertragungstechnologie, welche Information zwischen Sendenden und Empfangenden transportiert. Sie stellen in einem bestehenden Macht-Wissens-Komplex Bedeutung her und tragen damit zur Stabilisierung oder Veränderung sozialer Verhältnisse bei

(Hall, 1989, 47ff). In Bezug auf unseren vorliegenden Forschungsgegenstand bedeutet dies, dass mediale Texte mitkonstituieren, welche Bedeutungen mit dem Phänomen der 24h-Betreuung in Privathaushalten älterer Menschen verbunden werden. Sie formen, welche Eigenschaften, Bedürfnisse und Wünsche betreuungsbedürftigen Menschen, deren Angehörigen, bezahlte Betreuer_innen und Betreuungsagenturen zugeschrieben werden. Und sie ermöglichen es zu identifizieren, welche Elemente des Phänomens im Diskurs unsichtbar bleiben und Leerstellen oder so genannt blinde Flecken bilden.

In unserer Umsetzung der foucaultschen Diskursanalyse als Forschungsperspektive und Analysemethode orientieren wir uns an Waitt (2010). Wie er vorschlägt, haben wir zur Organisation und Strukturierung des Textmaterials mit Hilfe der Analysesoftware Atlas.ti eine deskriptive und analytische Codierung des Materials vorgenommen. Die deskriptive Codierung dient dazu, das empirische Material zu ordnen und sich einen systematischen Überblick über die darin enthaltenen Aussagen zu verschaffen. Dazu werden Textausschnitte – von einzelnen Sätzen bis zu mehreren Abschnitten – thematischen Kategorien zugeordnet. Es handelt es sich um einen iterativen Prozess, in welchem wir unser Kategorienschema fortlaufend weiter entwickeln und verfeinern konnten.

Für die analytische Codierung haben wir auf Basis des kategorisierten Materials und in intensiver Diskussion unter uns Autorinnen jene diskursiven Muster identifiziert, welche die mediale Repräsentation der 24-Stunden-Betreuung strukturieren. Dabei gilt es gemäss Waitt einerseits insbesondere auf jene diskursiven Muster zu achten, welche wiederholt als selbstverständlich, unproblematisch und quasi natürlich auftreten. Andererseits legten wir besonderen Wert auf die Identifikation sogenannter „silences“ (Waitt 2010, 233ff). Um diese Leerstellen oder blinden Flecken im Material herauszuarbeiten gilt es, das eigene Wissen über den weiteren sozialen Kontext des eigenen Forschungsfeldes in die Analyse einzubringen. Das heisst, wir haben während der Analyse im Gespräch unter uns Autorinnen bewusst immer wieder reflektiert, welche Argumente und Sichtweisen im Material nicht vorkommen und welche Aspekte nicht erwähnt werden.

Basierend auf dieser Forschungsperspektive und Analysemethode arbeiten wir im Folgenden die Konstituierung der live-in Betreuung anhand von Medientexten heraus und diskutieren deren Konsequenzen. Wir verwenden dabei die von Jäger und Jäger eingeführten Begriffe der Diskursebene als sozialer Ort, von dem aus gesprochen wird (zum Beispiel die Ebene der Wissenschaft, der Medien, der Literatur, der Wirtschaft, etc.), sowie des Diskursstrangs als Häufung von Aussagen ähnlichen Inhalts (Jäger & Jäger, 2007, 25ff).

3.2 Die Schweizer Medienberichterstattung als Datengrundlage

Datengrundlage dieser Arbeit bilden Zeitungs-, Radio- und Fernsehberichte zum Thema live-in Seniorenbetreuung in der deutsch- und französischsprachigen Schweiz.[1] Diese Medien bilden eine Diskursebene, welche eine wichtige Rolle für die Meinungsbildung spielt und die Anschauungen einer Gesellschaft formt. Die Analyse von Presseerzeugnissen ermöglicht es, Konstruktionen sowohl der Realität als auch von Problemen zu erkennen (Gerhards et al., 1998, 38; Zierhofer, 1999, 35ff). Für unseren Textkorpus berücksichtigten wir in einem ersten Schritt sämtliche Printmedien, die gemäss Schweizer Werbemedienforschungsstelle (WEMF, 2012) eine Auflage von mehr als 100'000 Stück aufweisen. Dies waren 20 Minuten, Beobachter, Berner Zeitung, Blick, Blick am Abend, Coop Zeitung, Migros-Magazin, Neue Luzerner Zeitung, NZZ, NZZ Folio, NZZ am Sonntag, Schweizer Familie, Schweizer Illustrierte, Sonntags Zeitung, Nordwestschweiz, Sonntag, St. Galler Tagblatt, Sonntags-Blick, Südostschweiz und Tages-Anzeiger. In einem zweiten Schritt ergänzten wir ausgewählte Titel, sodass unser Material möglichst das gesamte politische und geographische Spektrum der medialen Diskursebene in der deutsch- und französischsprachigen Schweiz ausgewogen abdeckte. Um die politische Meinungsvielfalt einzufangen, kamen die politisch linksorientierte Wochenzeitung und die politisch rechtsorientierte Weltwoche hinzu. Aus geographischen Überlegungen nahmen wir die Tribune de Genève und die Basler Zeitung ins Sample auf, sodass Titel aus allen grossen Schweizer Städten vertreten waren. Und schliesslich ergänzten wir die Auswahl um Le Matin dimanche, L'Illustré und 24 Heures, um die Repräsentation der französischsprachigen Medienlandschaft zu stärken. Hinzu kamen die Fernseh- und Radiosendungen der öffentlichen Schweizerischen Radio- und Fernsehgesellschaft.[2]

In diesen Titeln konnten wir im Zeitraum von 2003-2013 insgesamt 115 Medienberichte identifizieren, welche sich mit Aspekten der 24h-Betreuung beschäftigen. Die Aufschlüsselung der Artikel nach Publikationsjahr illustriert, dass die Anzahl Veröffentlichungen in den untersuchten Medien ab dem Jahr 2010 stark zunahm.

 # Abbildung 1: Anzahl Veröffentlichungen zur 24h-Betreuung in den untersuchten Medien nach Publikationsjahr ungefähr hier #

[1] Italienische und rätoromanische Texte konnten nicht in die Analyse einbezogen werden.
[2] Zum detaillierten Vorgehen bei der Identifikation der Artikel siehe Thurnherr (2014).

Wie Abbildung 1 zeigt, wurden in den ersten fünf Jahren des Untersuchungszeitraums lediglich sechs Artikel zum Thema veröffentlicht; in den zweiten fünf Jahren hingegen bereits 109. Mehr als zwei Drittel aller Beiträge erschienen in den letzten beiden Jahren des Untersuchungszeitraums. Wir erklären uns die starke Zunahme der medialen Thematisierung unter anderem mit der Öffnung des Schweizer Arbeitsmarktes für Arbeitskräfte aus den Ländern der EU und EFTA. Das so genannte Personenfreizügigkeitsabkommen trat 2002 in Kraft und wurde 2006 auf die zehn neu hinzugekommenen EU-Staaten ausgedehnt. Aufgrund einschränkender Übergangsbestimmungen erreichten Bürger_innen der osteuropäischen EU-8-Staaten jedoch erst Mitte 2011 die volle Freizügigkeit (SEM, 2015). Erst der damit eröffnete Zugang zum Schweizer Arbeitsmarkt ermöglichte ihnen die reguläre Einreise und Beschäftigung als 24h-Betreuer_innen in der Schweiz. Wir gehen davon aus, dass durch die Personenfreizügigkeit einerseits die Anzahl an Betreuer_innen zunahm und sich andererseits die vorgängige Tabuisierung abschwächte. Dies erhöhte die Sichtbarkeit der Betreuer_innen – unter anderem auch auf der Diskursebene der Medien.

Betrachtet man die Verteilung der Berichte auf die verschiedenen Medien in Abbildung 2, so ist festzustellen, dass die mit Abstand auflagenstärksten Mitgliederzeitungen (Migros-Magazin und Coop Zeitung), sowie die Gratiszeitungen (20 Minuten und Blick am Abend) kaum über die 24h-Betreuung berichteten. Hingegen finden sich die meisten Artikel in den kostenpflichtigen Tageszeitungen Tages-Anzeiger und NZZ, sowie im Schweizer Radio und Fernsehen.

 # Abbildung 2: Anzahl Beiträge zur 24h-Betreuung pro untersuchtes Publikationsmedium von 2003-2013 ungefähr hier #

Weiter fällt bei der Betrachtung von Abbildung 2 auf, dass in den vier untersuchten französischsprachigen Medien lediglich zwei Artikel publiziert wurden. Bei diesen Beiträgen handelt es sich zudem um übersetzte Mitteilungen der Schweizerischen Depeschenagentur, welche auch in der Deutschschweiz publiziert wurden. Auch sämtliche Beiträge des Schweizer Radios und Fernsehens sind auf Deutsch erschienen. Dies lässt darauf schliessen, dass die 24h-Betreuung in der medialen Debatte in der Romandie einen kleineren Stellenwert als in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz einnimmt.

Eine Erklärung für diesen Befund sehen wir darin, dass die öffentliche Versorgung mit spitalexternen Dienstleistungen (Spitex) in der Romandie im Vergleich zur Deutschschweiz stärker ausgebaut ist (Gmür & Rüfenacht, 2010, 391). Dies dämpft die Nachfrage nach live-in Betreuung. Des weiteren ist unseres Erachtens die differente Herkunft der Arbeitskräfte entscheidend. Die in der Deutschschweiz

arbeitenden Betreuer_innen stammen häufig aus osteuropäischen Ländern (Greuter & Schilliger, 2010) – insbesondere aus Regionen, in denen geschichtlich bedingt teilweise auch Deutsch gesprochen oder gelernt wird. Hausangestellte und Betreuer_innen in der Romandie stammen hingegen häufig aus Lateinamerika und den Philippinen (Flückiger & Pasche, 2005, 21). Da ihnen als Drittstaatenangehörige der freie Zugang zum Schweizer Arbeitsmarkt verwehrt ist, verfügen sie oft nicht über gültige Aufenthaltspapiere und Arbeitsbewilligungen. Entsprechend fokussiert sich der französischsprachige Diskurs stärker auf die Frage des regulären Aufenthalts in der Schweiz und die Lebenswirklichkeiten der so genannten *Sans-Papiers* (vgl. hierzu Carreras, 2014; Knoll et al., 2012; Niklaus, 2013). Nur schon in der Zeitung La Tribune de Genève beispielsweise finden sich in den letzten zwölf Monaten sechs Artikel mit diesem Begriff in der Titelzeile.

Für die vorliegende Studie bedeutet das Fehlen von Artikeln aus der französischsprachigen Presse, dass ein sprachraumübergreifender Vergleich der medialen Diskursebene nicht möglich ist. Die im folgenden dargestellte Analyse zeichnet demnach in erster Linie den Mediendiskurs nach, wie er in der deutschsprachigen Schweiz geführt wird. Wir zeichnen hierfür in Kapitel 4 in einem ersten Schritt die dominanten Diskursstränge nach. Ihre Diskussion ihrer Implikationen folgt im anschliessenden Diskussionskapitel.

4. Ergebnisse der Medienanalyse

4.1 «Ein boomender Markt für dubiose Agenturen»

Unsere Analyse der Medienberichterstattung zeigt als ersten dominanten Diskursstrang, dass die Betreuung von älteren Menschen im Privathaushalt praktisch unwidersprochen als stark wachsender Markt dargestellt wird. Die Medien sprechen von einem florierenden Markt, von wachsender Nachfrage, von einem Geschäft, das Fahrt aufgenommen hat, oder von neuen Betreuungsfirmen, die wie Pilze aus dem Boden schiessen. So titelt der Tages-Anzeiger: «*Betagtenbetreuung wird Riesengeschäft» (08.09.2008),* der Beobachter schreibt: *«Der Pflegenotstand heizt das Geschäft mit ausländischen Betreuerinnen für SeniorInnen an» (21.07.2011*) und SRF Konsum sichtet *«Immer mehr Alten-Pfleger aus dem Ostblock» (17.06.2013).* Die mit diesem «Riesengeschäft» in Verbindung gebrachten Wachstumsraten werden oft mit dem Begriff des Booms ausgedrückt. So diagnostiziert die WOZ: «*Privatwirtschaftliche Pflegefirmen boomen*» (*05.11.2009)* und genauso beobachtet Blick am Abend, dass das «*Geschäft mit Billig-Pflegerinnen boomt» (24.07.2013).*

Den Medien zufolge gibt es also einen augenscheinlichen Boom in der privaten Betreuung älterer Menschen. In vielen Fällen wird dabei das stipulierte Wachstum mit einer tendenziell negativen Kon-

notation versehen. Dies zeigt sich beispielsweise bereits im oben angeführten Verweis des Blick am Abends auf «Billig-Pflegerinnen». Ähnlich spricht der Kassensturz von einem «*Zukunftsmarkt mit Schattenseiten» (SRF, 22.09.2009)* und der Tages-Anzeiger schreibt: «*Sicher ist: Der Markt boomt. Die Gleichstellungs-Fachstelle, aber auch andere Fachleute und Politiker halten diese Entwicklung für problematisch» (06.06.2012).* Die Kritik richtet sich meist primär gegen die sogenannten Betreuungs- oder Care Agenturen, d.h. Firmen, die sich auf die Vermittlung und den Verleih von live-in Seniorenbetreuer_innen spezialisiert haben. Sie erscheinen im Diskurs praktisch immer in negativem Licht. In erster Linie wird ihnen vorgeworfen, dass sie auf Kosten der Betreuer_innen übermässige Gewinne erwirtschaften.

So steht in den Medienberichten: «*während private Pflegeagenturen gerne 6000 bis 8000 Franken pro Monat in Rechnung stellen, bezahlen sie den Pflegepersonen nur einen Minimalbetrag davon.» (Blick, 25.07.2013)* oder: *«Die Firmen verdienen das drei- bis vierfache dessen, was die Pflegekräfte verdienen» (Die Nordwestschweiz BL, 27.08.2013).* Ein Beitrag der Nordwestschweiz am Sonntag bringt diese Kritik auf den Punkt: *«Die Pflege von Senioren in ihrem Zuhause boomt. Das nützen Billigvermittler schamlos aus. Sie zahlen osteuropäischen Betreuerinnen Stundenlöhne von 3 bis 5 Franken» (18.11.2012).*

Die Kritik an den Gewinnmargen der Betreuungsagenturen bildet einen dominanten Diskursstrang. Er findet sich in fast allen Medien in zahlreichen Wiederholungen. Einzig die Weltwoche verteidigt beispielsweise «*das Unternehmen, das vom VPOD als «gewinnorientiert» beschimpft wird, als ob das in einer Marktwirtschaft ein Vergehen wäre» (29.08.2013)* und stellt damit die verbreitete Kritik an der Gewinnorientierung der Care Agenturen grundsätzlich in Frage. Sonst werden die Gewinne der Agenturen übereinstimmend als überhöht beurteilt.

Abgesehen von der kritisierten Gewinnmarge werden die Geschäfte Agenturen als «*unseriös» (Neue Luzerner Zeitung, 18.12.2012), «dubios» (SRF Espresso 18.06.2013), «illegal» (Sonntagszeitung, 26.06.2011)* oder am Rande der Legalität dargestellt. Der Beobachter schreibt beispielsweise*: «Manche bewegen sich in der Illegalität, viele zumindest in einer Grauzone» (21.07.2011).* Als illegale Praktiken werden dabei unter anderem fehlende Bewilligungen und Versicherungen, das Nichteinhalten von Mindestlöhnen und Arbeitszeiten, Scheinselbständigkeit und das Nichtbezahlen von Sozialversicherungsbeiträgen genannt.

Die Agenturen selber kommen in den Artikeln nur selten zu Wort. Eine Agenturvertreterin kontert den Vorwurf der übermässigen Gewinnmarge: «*Das ist eines der grossen Missverständnisse über die Branche der profitorientierten Spitexfirmen. Es ist kein grosses Geschäft und wird es auch nicht werden. Ich glaube, dass viele der neuen Firmen bald wieder vom Markt verschwinden. Wir selbst schreiben nur knapp schwarze Zahlen» (Die Nordwestschweiz BS, 25.06.2013).* Trotz einzelner solcher Gegendarstellungen

durch Agenturleitende bleibt die Darstellung der Agenturen überwiegend abwertend. Sie stehen im Fokus der Kritik und übernehmen im Mediendiskurs die Rolle der «Bösewichte».

4.2 «Lieber daheim als im Heim» als unhinterfragter Wunsch älterer Menschen

Ein zweiter prominenter Diskursstrang fokussiert auf die Bedürfnisse älterer Menschen. Als eindeutig dominantestes Motiv wird argumentiert, sie wünschten sich, möglichst lange in ihrem Zuhause zu bleiben: «*Cette offre répond évidemment au désir de nos aînés de rester à la maison le plus longtemps possible» (24 Heures, 07.08.2013)*[3] oder: «*Zunehmend haben hochbetagte Menschen das Bedürfnis, möglichst lange zu Hause zu bleiben, auch wenn sie pflegebedürftig sind» (Die Nordwestschweiz am Sonntag, 18.11.2012).* Die NZZ formuliert: «*Der Senior vermag durch die Betreuung länger in den eigenen vier Wänden zu verbleiben und betrachtet das als Gewinn» (12.01.2012)* und die Schweizer Illustrierte schreibt plakativ: *«Alte Menschen möchten in der eigenen Stube liegen, wenn sie schon liegen müssen» (15.11.2010).*

Die institutionelle Betreuung – das Alters oder Pflegeheim – wird dabei als schlechtere Alternative dargestellt. Denn «*Keiner will mehr ins Altersheim» (Blick, 25.07.2013)* und Betreuungsbedürftige würden versuchen, «*das Schreckgespenst so lange wie möglich zu bannen: den Eintritt in ein Alters- oder Pflegeheim» (Migros Magazin, 07.12.2009).).* 24h-Betreuung sorge dafür, «*dass in der Schweiz alte und pflegebedürftige Menschen nicht ins Heim müssen» (NZZ, 06.08.2013).* Die Ablehnung eines Heimeintritts gilt als selbstverständlich. Niemand möchte, will, darf oder kann ins Heim - man soll oder muss dort hin, wenn es keine Alternativen mehr gibt. In direkten Vergleichen zwischen einem Leben daheim oder in einem Altersheim wird oft hervorgehoben, ersteres sei weniger einschränkend und ermögliche mehr Individualität und Flexibilität: «*Im Heim läuft zwangsläufig alles nach einem fixen Plan, Essen, Spazieren, Aktivierungsübungen. Bei der Betreuung zu Hause sind wir frei und können nach Tagesform und Lust agieren. Das ist echte Lebensqualität» (Beobachter, 22.07.2010).* Der Umzug in ein Alters- oder Pflegeheim hingegen wird mit dem Verlust von sozialen Beziehungen, von Komfort, der vertrauten Umgebung und liebgewonnenen Alltagsgegenständen und Erinnerungsstücken, sowie mit höheren Kosten in Verbindung gebracht.

In der medialen Debatte für oder gegen einen Heimeintritt kommen jedoch meist nicht die Betreuungsbedürftigen selbst zu Wort, sondern es wird aus der Angehörigenperspektive berichtet: «*Es ist*

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[3] Auf Deutsch: "*Dieses Angebot ist offensichtlich die Antwort auf den Wunsch unserer älteren Menschen, so lange wie möglich daheim zu bleiben*."

für viele Angehörige schwer, die Ehefrau, den Ehemann oder die Eltern ins Heim zu geben» (Schweizer Illustrierte, 15.11.2010). Die Formulierungen, die eigenen Eltern in ein Altersheim zu schicken, zu geben, ihnen ein solches zuzumuten oder sie dort zu versorgen, zeigen, dass der Alters- und Pflegeheimeintritt auch aus ihrer Perspektive nicht als Ideallösung gilt und bei Angehörigen oft Schuldgefühle auslöse. So schreibt die Berner Zeitung: «*«Du willst mich nur versorgen. Das ist also der Dank», sagt sie. Schuldgefühle wecken ist eine Kunst, die Mutter schon immer gut beherrschte» (05.11.2011b).* Laut Tages-Anzeiger Magazin bedeutet dies: «*Der Gang ins Heim werde von Angehörigen, aber auch von Aussenstehenden als «Versagen der Familie» interpretiert» (09.08.2008).* Denn «*Wer will seine betagten Eltern schon ins Heim schicken?» (Tages-Anzeiger, 14.08.2013)*

Trotz dieser starken Favorisierung des Daheim-Lebens bleibt auch dieser Diskursstrang nicht gänzlich unwidersprochen. Das Migros Magazin lässt hierfür beispielsweise eine Altersheimbewohnerin zu Wort kommen, die mit ihrer Situation zufrieden ist: «*Gritli winkt ab: ‹Chabis [Unsinn] – hier [im Altersheim] habe ich Pflege, kann jederzeit auf den Notfallknopf drücken, das Essen ist sehr fein, und die Schwestern und Pfleger sind nett. Alle sprechen Züritüütsch, da habe ich keine Verständigungsprobleme.› Will sie ihre Ruhe, bleibt sie im Zimmer und strickt oder liest Zeitung. Ist ihr nach Gesellschaft, findet sie die in der Cafeteria, wo der Kaffee nur 2.50 Franken kostet und sich eine Runde findet, die abends ‹bis i alli Nacht ine› eine Partie Elfer Raus spielt» (07.12.2009).* Kritisch reflektiert wird die Präferenz für den Verbleib in den eigenen vier Wänden punktuell auch in der NZZ: «*Und vielleicht lohnt es sich, wieder einmal die Frage zu stellen, ob institutionelle Pflegeheime, die ja über eine Rundumbetreuung verfügen, zu Recht immer als letzter Ausweg gesehen werden müssen. Nicht immer ist es für einen älteren Menschen a priori schlecht, sich in einem neuen sozialen Gefüge einzugliedern. Finanziell jedenfalls gilt es beide Möglichkeiten durchzurechnen. Denn wer einer Pendelmigrantin faire Arbeitsbedingungen anbieten möchte, stellt vielleicht bald einmal fest, dass er sich eigentlich nur ein Pflegeheim leisten könnte» (12.01.2012).*

In beiden Aussagen wird die im Mediendiskurs dominante Abwertung des Alters- und Pflegeheims und die Idealisierung des daheim Lebens in Frage gestellt. Insbesondere im zweiten Beispiel wird das Werteschema zwar relativiert, aber nicht aufgelöst. So lässt sich aus der Formulierung der NZZ schliessen, dass Altersheime zwar nicht «*immer als letzter Ausweg*» oder als «*a priori schlecht*» verstanden werden müssen, jedoch wohl häufig nicht die ideale Lösung darstellen. Insgesamt zeigt sich folglich ein dominanter Diskursstrang, der weitgehend selbstverständlich davon ausgeht, dass auch bei rundum Betreuungsbedürftigkeit das Leben daheim einem Altersheim vorzuziehen ist.

4.3 Die Betreuer_innen als «zufriedene Ausgebeutete»?

Ein drittes prominentes Thema in den Medienbeiträgen sind die Arbeits- und Lebensbedingungen der Betreuer_innen. In einem ersten Diskursstrang werden sie als äusserst prekär beschrieben. Es handle sich um «*Ausbeutung» (NZZ, 04.01.2012)* und eine «*Moderne Form der Sklaverei» (Bund, 05.06.2013)*, heisse es. Unter diesen und ähnlichen aufmerksamkeitserregenden Schlagworten wird eine Vielzahl von Umständen diskutiert, die die Arbeits- und Lebenssituation in der live-in Betreuung belasten. Die Anstellungsverhältnisse seien befristet und unsicher, der arbeitsrechtliche Schutz lückenhaft, die Arbeitszeiten endlos, die Arbeit körperlich und emotional auslaugend, die gesellschaftliche Anerkennung gering, Freizeit inexistent und die Isolation und die fehlende Privatsphäre auf Dauer schwer zu ertragen. Der mediale Diskurs beurteilt somit die Arbeitsverhältnisse der Betreuer_innen fast ausschliesslich negativ. Die NZZ lässt eine Expertin resümieren: «*Die meisten Verhältnisse mit Care-Migrantinnen sind Ausbeutungsverhältnisse» (23.07.2013).* Um die Prekarität der Arbeitsverhältnisse deutlich zu machen wird dabei wiederholt erwähnt, dass sich keine Schweizer Arbeitskräfte für diese Arbeit finden würden: «*Es ist jedoch schwer, jemanden zu finden, der bereit ist, bei einem Demenzkranken einzuziehen und rund um die Uhr für alle anfallenden Arbeiten zur Verfügung zu stehen» (Basler Zeitung, 25.05.2010).* So fragt der Beobachter rhetorisch: «*Würden Sie für etwas über drei Franken die Stunde 24 Stunden am Tag präsent sein? Kochen, Wäsche waschen, putzen? Bettpfannen leeren? Windeln wechseln? Auch nachts?» (21.07.2011).* Dieses Zitat macht ersichtlich, dass die unvorteilhaften Umstände der Betreuer_innen häufig an der Lohnhöhe festgemacht werden. Die verwendeten Begrifflichkeiten reichen dabei von «*Dumpinglöhnen» (20 Minuten, 12.01.2011),* «*Billiglöhnen» (SRF 10vor10, 13.08.2013)*, «*Hungerlohn» (Die Nordwestschweiz am Sonntag, 18.11.2012)* oder einem «*salaire de misère» (Le Matin, 17.12.2012),* «*weit unter dem Existenzminimum» (WOZ, 20.06.2013).*

In einem zweiten Diskursstrang wird die Lohnhöhe dann jedoch oft in Bezug zum durchschnittlichen Lohnniveau im «Heimatland» einer Betreuerin gesetzt und dadurch relativiert. Dieser Blickwinkel erlaubt ein positiveres, weil für die Betreuer_innen angeblich gewinnbringendes, Bild. Es wird argumentiert: «*In den wenigen Monaten in der Schweiz verdienen sie [die Betreuer_innen] meist ein Vielfaches dessen, was sie in ihrer Heimat erwirtschaften könnten» (St. Galler Tagblatt, 18.12.2012).* Denn, wie die NZZ ausführt: *«Obwohl sie hierzulande meist nur zwischen 1500 und 3000 Franken pro Monat inklusive Kost und Logis verdienen, ist dies ein Mehrfaches dessen, was sie in der Heimat erwirtschaften würden» (12.01.2012).* Die Diskussion um das Salär hängt folglich vom geographischen Vergleichshorizont ab. Solange die Medien den Lohn mit anderen Arbeitsstellen in der Schweiz vergleichen, wird er als sehr

schlecht beurteilt. Sobald sie ihn jedoch den Lohnniveaus in den osteuropäischen Herkunftsländern der Betreuer_innen gegenüber stellen, erscheint die Entlohnung als vergleichsweise attraktiv.

In diesem zweiten Diskursstrang kommen zuweilen auch die Betreuer_innen selbst zu Wort. Die Nordwestschweiz BS zum Beispiel zitiert eine Betreuerin: «*Die Arbeit hier, auch wenn man teils ausgenutzt wird, ist immer noch besser als nichts» (11.06.2013).* Die Basler Zeitung spricht von der Zufriedenheit aller Involvierten: «*Aber sie lächelt und sagt: «Der Lohn ist gut. Ich bin zufrieden, Frau Sandra und Herr Harald sind zufrieden. Alle sind zufrieden»» (25.05.2010).* Und die Berner Zeitung verbindet das Argument mit der Freude an der Arbeit: *««Diese Arbeit macht mir Spass», sagt sie. Ausserdem verdiene sie zu Hause bloss 300 Euro und hier viel mehr» (Berner Zeitung, 05.11.2011).*

Der Vergleich mit «zu Hause» erlaubt es, die 24h-Betreuung als eine sogenannte Win-Win-Situation darzustellen - sprich, als ein Arrangement, von dem alle Beteiligten profitieren. So zum Beispiel die NZZ: «*Die 50- bis 65-jährigen Frauen seien deshalb froh, ihr Geld in der Schweiz verdienen zu können» (04.01.2012).* Diese Argumentation basiert auf einer Ausblendung des Verrichtungsortes, nämlich der Schweiz, wo der Lohn nicht existenzsichernd ist. Es handelt sich bei dem Win-Win Argument um eine rhetorische Dislokation der Betreuer_innen aus der Schweiz in einen anderen nationalökonomischen Kontext, welche dazu dient die Arbeitsbedingungen und das tiefe Lohnniveau zu rechtfertigen.

In Bezug auf die Arbeits- und Lebenssituationen der Betreuer_innen hebt ein erster Diskursstrang somit die problematischen Arbeitsverhältnisse hervor, während die 24h-Betreuung in einem zweiten Strang als vorteilhaftes Arrangement für alle Beteiligten dargestellt wird. Zusammen konstruieren die beiden Diskursstränge die Betreuer_innen in einem Spannungsfeld als «zufriedene Ausgebeutete».

4.4 Der ungenügend ausgestattete und wegrationalisierte Staat

Als viertes und letztes Schlüsselelement im Mediendiskurs tritt der Staat in Erscheinung. Gemäss der medialen Thematisierung verfüge der Staat nicht über die erforderlichen Strukturen und Mittel, um die Betreuung älterer Menschen sicherzustellen. So kommentiert die Sonntagszeitung: «*Das Pflegesystem der Schweiz wird selber zum Pflegefall» (16.12.2012).* In einem ersten Diskursstrang wird argumentiert, die Alterung der Bevölkerung und die Veränderungen der Familienstrukturen kreiere eine Betreuungslücke. Sie stelle die Schweiz vor die Herausforderung, die Betreuung einer steigenden Zahl von älteren Menschen zu organisieren. Die heutigen Strukturen der öffentlichen Hand seien dafür ungenügend ausgestattet: *«Auf diese Anforderungen ist das Schweizer Gesundheitssystem noch nicht optimal vorbereitet – weder in finanzieller, noch in personeller Hinsicht» (SRF News, 24.07.2013).* Dabei wird mit teilweise dramati-

sierenden Begriffen auf die Ernsthaftigkeit der Lage hingewiesen. So stecke die «*Schweiz in der Seniorenfalle» (Sonntags Zeitung, 16.12.2012),* es «*herrscht Pflegenotstand» (St. Galler Tagblatt, 28.02.2011)*, in der Betreuungsbranche «*droht ein dramatischer Personalmangel» (Migros Magazin, 07.12.2009)* und das Gesundheitssystem befinde sich «*heute schon am Rand des finanziellen Kollapses» (Tages-Anzeiger, 21.12.2012).* Die Schweizer Illustrierte appelliert: «*Die Politik muss sich daher fragen: Wer soll pflegen? Wo? Wer soll das bezahlen?» (15.11.2010).*

In einem zweiten Diskursstrang werden die in den letzten Jahren vorgenommenen Kosteneinsparungen im staatlich organisierten Gesundheitssystem und generell die mangelnde finanzielle Unterstützung von Seiten der öffentlichen Hand für die Betreuung zu Hause kritisiert. Die Neue Luzerner Zeitung begründet das Wachstum der 24h-Betreuung in den Worten einer Expertin unter anderem mit: «*Die öffentlichen Dienste in der Pflege und Betreuung stehen unter Spardruck und wurden rationalisiert, sie erfüllen teilweise die Bedürfnisse der Pflegebedürftigen nicht» (18.12.2012).* In der Nordwestschweiz BS heisst es: «*Angehörige von älteren Menschen könnten sich deren Betreuung nicht mehr leisten, bei den öffentlichen Versorgungsdienstleistungen durch Spitäler oder Spitex werde immer stärker gespart» (11.04.2013)* und laut WOZ fördere «*Ein Mangel an wohlfahrtsstaatlicher Unterstützung [...] die Entwicklung eines privaten – häufig informellen – prekären Arbeitsmarkts in der Pflege» (05.11.2009).*

Da die öffentliche Hand unzureichende Unterstützung biete, so das Fazit aus beiden Diskurssträngen, würden die Familien mit ihrem Betreuungsbedarf allein gelassen. Infolgedessen bleibe ihnen nichts anderes übrig, als auf eine 24h-Betreuung zurückzugreifen. Somit stellt der Mediendiskurs den Staat als ungenügend ausgestattet und überfordert dar, die Problematik des wachsenden Betreuungsbedarfs zu lösen und die Familien von Betreuungsbedürftigen zu unterstützen.

5. Diskussion: Blinde Flecken und die Implikationen diskursiver Konstruktionen

Im folgenden Analyseschritt gehen wir auf Stellen im medialen Diskurs zur 24h-Betreuung ein, an denen sich blinde Flecken und Spannungsfelder eröffnen. Dies erlaubt es uns, kritisch zu reflektieren, welche Implikationen die dokumentierten diskursiven Konstruktionen haben (vgl. Waitt, 2010, 234ff). Die folgende Diskussion hinterfragt die These des 24h-Betreuungsbooms und die Idealisierung des Privathaushalts als Betreuungsort und diskutiert die Verantwortung der Familie als Arbeitgeberin.

5.1 Der Boom als sich selbsterfüllende Prophezeiung?

Im Abschnitt 4.1 wurde aufgezeigt, dass viele Medienberichte einen Boom in der privaten 24h-Betreuung konstatieren. Meist wird diese Behauptung jedoch nicht mit statistischen Daten untermau-

ert. Medien sind sich dieses Mangels an Daten teilweise auch bewusst. SRF Espresso zum Beispiel: «*Wie viele sie [Live-in Betreuer_innen] genau sind, weiss man nicht. Es gibt keine offiziellen Zahlen. Dass aber die Zahl zugenommen hat, weiss man auch beim Staatssekretariat für Wirtschaft SECO» (18.06.2013). 24 Heures* argumentiert ähnlich: «*Le phénomène restant largement souterrain, il n'est pas chiffré de manière fiable» (07.08.2013).*[4] Häufig taucht in diesem Zusammenhang der Begriff «*statistisches Niemandsland» (NZZ, 23.07.2013)* auf. Er stammt aus einem Bericht des Gesundheitsobservatoriums Obsan über die Care-Migration (van Holten et al., 2013, 41) und wurde in einer Meldung der Schweizer Depeschenagentur beschrieben, die von vielen Medien aufgenommen wurde.

Wird in Medienberichten eine Zahl oder Statistik genannt, ist oft von 30'000 Betreuer_innen die Rede. Gemäss Nachforschungen von Schilliger (2014, 12) stammt diese vielzitierte Zahl ursprünglich aus einer umstrittenen Schätzung von Friedrich Schneider von der Universität Linz. Wie unsere Nachfrage beim Autor ergab, bezieht sie sich jedoch gar nicht auf 24h-Betreuer_innen, sondern auf sämtliche Schwarzarbeitsverhältnisse in der Seniorenbetreuung und wurde nie so publiziert, sondern basiert auf einer pauschalen Projektion österreichischer Zahlen auf die Schweiz.

Tatsächlich existieren keine systematisch erhobenen Daten oder offizielle Statistiken zur 24h-Betreuung. Mangels verfügbarer Zahlen verweist der Bundesrat in seinem jüngst erschienen Bericht zur Pendelmigration auf eine moderate Zunahme der Zuwanderung in der Kategorie «Hauswirtschaftsberufe» (Bundesrat, 2015, 7ff). Diese beinhaltet jedoch auch Reinigungskräfte, stundenweise Betreuung und Haushaltsführung sowie diverse weitere Dienstleistungen im Haushalt. Gemäss SECO seien inzwischen etwa 60 Firmen im Besitz einer Arbeitsverleihbewilligung im Hauswirtschaftsbereich (Bundesrat, 2015, 11). Auch diese Zahl beinhaltet jedoch nicht ausschliesslich die 24h-Betreuung. Dasselbe gilt für die wachsende Zahl an Firmen, die sich im Internet als «24h-Betreuungsagentur» positionieren. Sie bieten meist eine breite Palette an Dienstleistungen an – von Reinigung über stundenweise Betreuung bis zum Hundeausführen – und haben teilweise keine oder nur wenige aktive Beschäftigte in der 24h-Betreuung (Truong et al., 2012, 10f). Darüber hinaus ist der junge Markt äusserst dynamisch. Es tauchen im Internet in kurzen Zeitabständen neue Firmen auf, einige von ihnen sind jedoch nach wenigen Monaten bereits wieder verschwunden oder inaktiv.

In diesem Sinne muss hinter das medial vermittelte Bild der rasanten Verbreitung von 24h-Betreuungsverhältnissen zumindest ein Fragezeichen gesetzt werden. Tatsächlich stellt sich die Frage,

[4] Auf Deutsch: *„Da das Phänomen grösstenteils verdeckt ist, kann es nicht verlässlich beziffert werden."*

inwieweit es sich weniger um eine boomhafte Zunahme dieser Beschäftigungsform als vielmehr um eine Zunahme der medialen Aufmerksamkeit handelt (vgl. Abschnitt 3.2).

Die Darstellung der 24h-Betreuung als Boom scheint sich durch die fehlenden Zahlen nicht irritieren zu lassen und bleibt im Mediendiskurs praktisch unhinterfragt. Sie hat jedoch insofern problematische Aspekte, da sie unter Umständen im Sinne einer selbsterfüllenden Prophezeiung genau den konstatierten Boom erst produziert. So diskutieren die Medienberichte zwar durchaus auch die Schattenseiten der 24h-Betreuung. Durch die Aussage, dass sich das Phänomen rasant verbreite, propagieren sie diese jedoch auch als neue, populäre Dienstleistung, womit Familien ihre Betreuungsproblematik individuell lösen können. Damit bringen sie weitere Familien auf die Idee, eine 24h-Betreuung in Betracht zu ziehen und tragen damit genau zu jenem Boom bei, den sie vorgeben zu beschreiben. Insofern ist es unseres Erachtens dringend notwendig, die mediale These des Booms kritisch zu reflektieren und die 24h-Betreuung als Beschäftigungsform in den öffentlichen Statistiken zu erfassen.

5.2 Das vertraute Daheim als Ort von Isolation und Gewalt?

Wie in Abschnitt 4.2 dargelegt, wird das Leben in den eigenen vier Wänden in der Medienberichterstattung mit Wahrung von Selbstbestimmtheit und Würde im Alter gleichgesetzt und gegenüber dem Eintritt in ein Altersheim als bessere Option dargestellt. Der Wunsch älterer Menschen «lieber daheim als im Heim» zu leben, wird in den allermeisten Medienberichten als gegeben angenommen nur sehr selten hinterfragt. Dieser Diskursstrang tritt nicht nur auf der medialen Diskursebene hervor, sondern weist eine ausgeprägte Interdiskursivität auf (vgl. Jäger & Jäger, 2007, 40). Das heisst, er bildet in vergleichbarer Art und Weise auch auf anderen Diskursebenen ein dominantes Muster. Er findet sich beispielsweise auch auf der Diskursebene der Wirtschaft, wo 24h-Betreuungsagenturen mit demselben Slogan ihre Dienstleistungen bewerben (vgl. Schwiter et al., 2014, 221f), auf der Diskursebene der Politik, wo der Grundsatz „ambulant vor stationär“ (Bundesrat, 2014) propagiert wird, sowie auf der Ebene des Alltags. So zeigt sich gemäss Höpflinger und Van Wezemael (2014, 139) auch in Befragungen älterer Menschen, dass – selbst wenn Unterstützung, Betreuung und Pflege notwendig werden – das Altersheim nicht die erwünschte Wohnform sei. Dieser Diskursstrang ist auch nicht auf die Debatte in der Schweiz beschränkt (vgl. z.B. Weber et al., 2014 zu Frankreich). Angesichts des Ideals, in der eigenen Wohnung gepflegt zu werden, bilden negative Bilder der Betreuung im Privathaushalt eine auffälliger blinder Fleck im Diskurs. Insofern stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern das private Betreuungsarrangement auch Ort möglicher Isolation und eventueller Übergriffe sein kann.

Insbesondere feministische Beiträge haben vielseitig herausgearbeitet, dass der Privathaushalt nicht nur ein Ort der Liebe, der Zuneigung, des Schutzes und der Vertrautheit, sondern auch ein Raum der Isolation, Angst und Gewalt sein kann (Blunt, 2005, 506; Valentine, 2001, 80). Dies gilt auch im Kontext von Betreuung im Privathaushalt (Fitzwater & Gates, 2000). Negative Erfahrungen und Beziehungsstrukturen in der Hausbetreuung können sich in den verschiedenartigsten Formen äussern – sei es in emotionalen, körperlichen oder sexualisierten Formen von Angst oder Gewalt. Zentral hier ist, dass sie sowohl die betreute als auch die betreuende Person betreffen können.

Ein erster Aspekt von Angst und Unsicherheit in der 24h-Betreuung ergibt sich bereits durch den Einzug einer Betreuungsperson in den Privathaushalt. Die eigene Wohnung verwandelt sich damit vom vertrauten Heim zum gleichzeitigen Arbeits- und Wohnort einer anderen Person. Vielfältige Alltagspraktiken müssen dadurch neu ausgehandelt werden (Dyck et al., 2005; Milligan, 2003; Wigger & Brüschweiler, 2014). Die Anwesenheit einer Betreuungsperson kann dabei von der betreuten Person als ein Eindringen in ihre Privatsphäre empfunden werden. Sie destabilisiert bestehende Imaginationen von Geborgenheit und Intimität sowie strenge Grenzziehungen zwischen privat und öffentlich (Blunt, 2005, 510ff; Duyvendak, 2011).

Zweitens interagieren Betreuer_innen und Betreute im Privathaushalt abgeschottet vom Blick der Öffentlichkeit. Die Arbeitskräfte verbringen oft sieben Tage die Woche nahezu 24 Stunden mit der betreuten Person – eine Präsenz, die viele Angehörige für sich selbst als unzumutbar betrachten (Bachinger, 2015, 488). Hierbei stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern dieses Setting auch Isolation, Überforderung und dadurch Gewalt begünstigen kann. Während in Spitälern und Altersheimen die Supervision und Weiterbildung grosse Aufmerksamkeit erhält, wird dies in der 24h-Betreuung noch kaum thematisiert (Lutz & Palenga-Möllenbeck, 2010b, 8). Daneben zeigen Studien aus anderen Kontexten, wie die Isolation der Arbeitskräfte im Privathaushalt auch zu Ausbeutung und Übergriffen von Seiten der Arbeitgeber_innen führen kann (Arat-Koç, 2001). Im Schweizer Mediendiskurs bleiben diese negativen Aspekte der Betreuung im Privathaushalt weitgehend unthematisiert. Aus unserer Sicht ergibt sich daraus die Notwendigkeit, die Idealisierung der Betreuungssituation im Privathaushalt vermehrt zur Diskussion zu stellen.

5.3 Die ausgeblendete Verantwortung der Familie als Arbeitgeberin

Abschnitt 4.3 hat gezeigt, wie der Mediendiskurs die Arbeitsbedingungen der Betreuer_innen übereinstimmend als prekär und ausbeuterisch beschriebt. Dabei werden unter anderem der geringe Lohn, die langen Arbeitszeiten und die fehlende Frei- und Erholungszeit aufgrund der de facto erwarteten 24-

Stunden-Präsenz moniert. Die Medienberichte machen primär die Agenturen, die diese Art von Betreuung anbieten und daraus Profit erwirtschaften, für die Arbeitsbedingungen verantwortlich (vgl. Abschnitt 4.1), während der Staat als überfordert dargestellt wird (vgl. Abschnitt 4.4). Ein auffälliger blinder Fleck im Diskurs bildet dabei die Verantwortung der Betreuungsbedürftigen und ihren Angehörigen. Im Falle von direkt angestellten und vermittelten Arbeitskräften sind sie formell Arbeitgebende und auch bei verliehenen Arbeitskräften obliegt ihnen das Weisungsrecht über die alltägliche Verrichtung der Arbeit. Insofern bestimmen sie die Arbeitsbedingungen in der 24h-Betreuung massgeblich mit.

Da eine 24h-Betreuung üblicherweise erst dann zum Einsatz kommt, wenn eine betreuungsbedürftige Person nicht mehr alleine gelassen werden kann – oft aufgrund von Demenz oder Alzheimer – liegt diese Aufgabe in den allermeisten Fällen bei den Angehörigen. Sie kümmern sich um organisatorische Dinge wie Vereinbarungen mit den Betreuungspersonen und der Agentur.

Bei Anstellungen über eine Agentur sehen die Arbeitsverträge der Betreuer_innen meist eine bezahlte tägliche Arbeitszeit von 6-7 Stunden vor (Truong et al., 2012, 18). Bei sieben Arbeitstagen pro Woche ergibt dies eine wöchentliche Arbeitszeit von 42-49 Stunden. Hierbei erstrecken sich diese Arbeitsstunden üblicherweise mit Unterbrüchen von den frühen Morgenstunden bis in die Abendstunden (Truong, 2014). Bei Direktanstellungen durch die Haushalte kommt es häufiger vor, dass keine schriftlichen Arbeitsverträge vorliegen, sondern lediglich mündliche Abmachungen getroffen werden.

Unabhängig von der Anstellungsform wird von den Betreuer_innen erwartet, dass sie sich bezüglich Einsatzzeiten flexibel den Bedürfnissen der zu Betreuenden anpassen (Schwiter et al., 2014, 221). In der Alltagspraxis führt dies dazu, dass die Betreuer_innen verbreitet weit mehr Arbeitsstunden leisten als sie bezahlt werden (Schilliger, 2014, 194ff; Truong, 2011, 78). Da sie in einem Anstellungs- und somit Abhängigkeitsverhältnis stehen und bei Unzufriedenheit der Kundschaft sehr schnell durch eine andere Betreuungskraft ersetzt werden können, kann es für die Betreuer_innen schwierig sein, auf die Einhaltung von vereinbarten Arbeitszeiten zu bestehen (Wigger & Brüschweiler, 2014, 441).

Zudem erachten sowohl die Agenturen als auch die Familien als selbstverständlich, dass die Betreuer_innen auch ausserhalb ihrer bezahlten Arbeitszeit im Haus anwesend und permanent abrufbereit sind (Schilliger, 2014, 195). Im Gegensatz zu einem Spital oder einer Berufsfeuerwehr, wo die Präsenzzeit von Ärzt_innen und Feuerwehrleuten am Arbeitsort auf einige Tage pro Monat begrenzt ist und entschädigt wird, ist die Rufbereitschaft in der 24h-Betreuung in vielen Verträgen nicht geregelt oder lediglich mit einem minimalen Pauschalbetrag abgegolten (Truong et al., 2012, 20).

In einigen Verträgen oder mündlichen Abmachungen wird festgehalten, an welchen Tagen, Halbtagen oder Abenden die Betreuerinnen den Haushalt verlassen können. In dieser Zeit obliegt es den Angehörigen, die Betreuung durch Eigenleistung oder Ersatzdienste wie beispielsweise die Spitex sicherzustellen. Bei Anstellungen über Agenturen unterschreiben die Angehörigen häufig bei Vertragsabschluss, dass sie von den Arbeits- und Ruhezeitenregelungen Kenntnis genommen haben. Damit wird auch in ihrem Fall die alltagspraktische Ausgestaltung des Arbeitsverhältnisses und die tatsächliche Einhaltung der freien Tage den Angehörigen übertragen (Schilliger, 2014, 199).

Insgesamt zeigt sich, dass es unabhängig der Anstellungsform mit oder ohne Agentur zu einem grossen Teil den Angehörigen obliegt, die konkrete Ausgestaltung der Alltagsroutinen und den damit zusammenhängenden Arbeitsbedingungen in der 24h-Betreuung zu definieren. Ihre Rolle als Arbeitgebende oder Weisungsberechtigte wird in der medialen Diskussion der 24h-Betreuung jedoch kaum diskutiert. Die «Ausbeutung» der Arbeitskräfte wird praktisch ausschliesslich den Agenturen unterstellt. Angesichts dieses blinden Flecks im medialen Diskurs erachten wir es als dringend notwendig, die Verantwortung der Angehörigen als Arbeitgebende stärker sichtbar zu machen.

6. Fazit

Die Medienberichterstattung über die 24h-Betreuung hat im Beobachtungszeitraum von 2003-2013 markant zugenommen. Die Presse zeichnet das Bild betreuungsbedürftiger Menschen, die in den eigenen vier Wänden bleiben wollen; eines boomenden Marktes, auf dem Agenturen grosse Gewinne machen; und migrantischer Betreuer_innen, die unter ausbeuterischen Bedingungen arbeiten, aber dennoch froh um ihre Arbeit sind. Daneben steht der Staat, der in seinem gegenwärtigen wegrationalisierten Zustand nicht in der Lage sei, erschwingliche Alternativen zur privaten 24h-Betreuung anzubieten. Es handelt sich dabei um eine ganz spezifische Repräsentation des Phänomens, die die genannten Aspekte betont und andere vernachlässigt.

In unserer Diskussion haben wir drei dieser blinden Flecken genauer beleuchtet: Erstens bringt der Mediendiskurs in einer Art selbsterfüllender Prophezeiung den propagierten Boom durch die Art der Berichterstattung mithervor und trägt dadurch zur Verbreitung jener Arbeitsverhältnisse bei, die er anprangert. Derweil geht in der medialen Diskussion unter, dass die Entwicklung der 24h-Betreuungsverhältnisse in der Schweiz gar nicht statistisch erfasst ist. Eine Verbesserung der Datenlage ist unseres Erachtens somit dringlich.

Zweitens blendet die im Diskurs dominante Idealisierung der Betreuung im eigenen Heim aus, dass gerade die mögliche Isolation und die geforderte Dauereinsatzbereitschaft im Privathaushalt zu

Überforderung und Übergriffen führen kann. Hier fehlt nicht zuletzt eine Diskussion über die Erfolgsbedingungen für gute Betreuung im Privathaushalt im Vergleich zu einem Altersheim oder anderen Betreuungsalternativen.

Drittens wird angesichts der verbreiteten Dämonisierung der Agenturen die Frage nach der Verantwortung der Angehörigen für die von ihnen initiierten und organisierten Arbeitsverhältnisse vernachlässigt. Unabhängig davon ob sie die Dienstleistungen einer 24h-Betreuung direkt oder über eine Agentur in Anspruch nehmen, bestimmen sie die Arbeitsbedingungen mit. Würde an sie die Erwartung gestellt, die in Anspruch genommenen Arbeits- und Präsenzstunden auch tatsächlich vollständig zu bezahlen, stellte das Altersheim wohl nicht unbedingt die teurere Alternative dar.

Unsere diskursanalytische Betrachtung des Phänomens ermöglichte, diese blinden Flecken im Mediendiskurs sichtbar zu machen, um sie in die gesellschaftliche Diskussion einzubringen. In der Periode seit unserem Beobachtungszeitraum hat dieses Anliegen weiter an Brisanz gewonnen. So gab auf politischer Ebene ein nationalrätliches Postulat (Schmid-Federer, 2012) dem Bundesrat den Anstoss, sich mit den Arbeitsverhältnissen in der 24h-Betreuung vertieft auseinanderzusetzen. In seinem kürzlich erschienen Bericht hält er fest, dass für diese Beschäftigungsgruppe in verschiedenen zentralen Fragen rechtliche Vorgaben fehlen und ein folglich Bedarf besteht, die Arbeitsbedingungen der Betreuer_innen besser zu regeln. Aufgrund dieser Situationsanalyse hat der Bundesrat in Aussicht gestellt, bis Ende 2016 einen konkreten Lösungsvorschlag zu erarbeiten (Bundesrat, 2015, 21).

Während der Staat in unserem Beobachtungszeitraum im medialen Diskurs primär als (überforderter) Geldgeber diskutiert wurde, wird er zukünftig vermehrt auch in seiner Regulierungsfunktion und als Gesetzgeber in Erscheinung treten. Für diese Debatte um die Regulierung der Arbeitsverhältnisse in der 24h-Betreuung, die nicht nur auf der politischen, sondern auch auf der medialen Ebene geführt werden wird, ist es unseres Erachtens entscheidend, dass die heutigen blinden Flecken im medialen Diskurs – die ungenügende Datenlage sowie die fehlenden Fragen nach der Pflegequalität und nach der Verantwortung der Angehörigen für die von ihnen organisierten Arbeitsverhältnisse – thematisiert werden.

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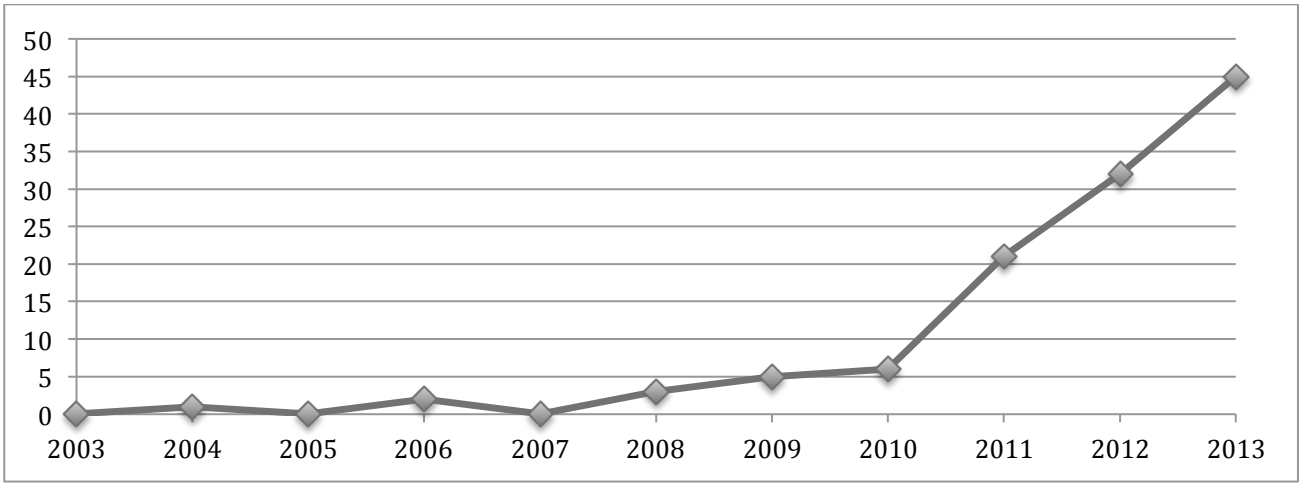
Anhang: Abbildungen

Abbildung 1:

Anzahl Veröffentlichungen zur 24h-Betreuung in den untersuchten Medien nach Publikationsjahr

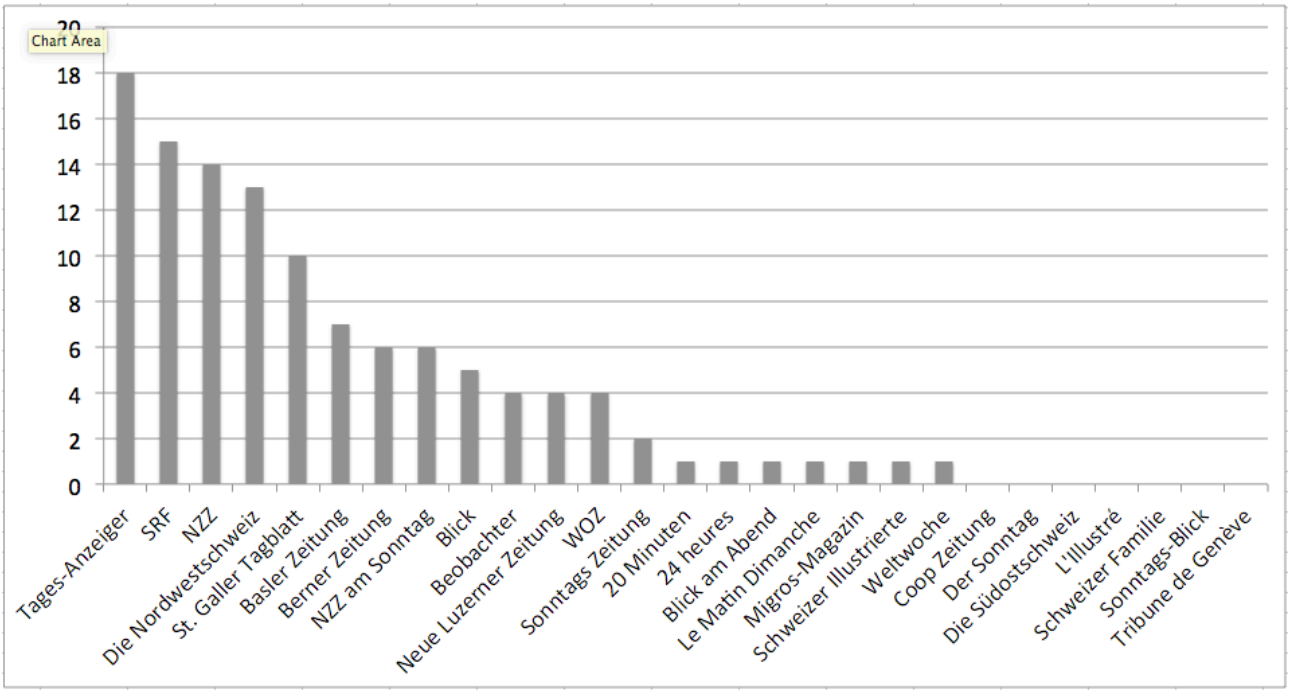


Daten zu Abbildung 1:

Publikations-jahr	Anzahl Publi-kationen
2003	0
2004	1
2005	0
2006	2
2007	0
2008	3
2009	5
2010	6
2011	21
2012	32
2013	45

Abbildung 2:

Anzahl Beiträge zur 24h-Betreuung pro untersuchtes Publikationsmedium von 2003-2013



Daten zu Abbildung 2:

Medium	Anzahl Veröff.
Tages-Anzeiger	18
SRF	15
NZZ	14
Die Nordwestschweiz	13
St. Galler Tagblatt	10
Basler Zeitung	7
Berner Zeitung	6
NZZ am Sonntag	6
Blick	5
Beobachter	4
Neue Luzerner Zeitung	4
WOZ	4
Sonntags Zeitung	2
20 Minuten	1
24 heures	1
Blick am Abend	1
Le Matin Dimanche	1
Migros-Magazin	1
Schweizer Illustrierte	1
Weltwoche	1
Coop Zeitung	0
Der Sonntag	0
Die Südostschweiz	0
L'Illustré	0
Schweizer Familie	0
Sonntags-Blick	0
Tribune de Genève	0